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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND YOUTH:  
THE CHALLENGE OF  
THE 1957 MOSCOW FESTIVAL

CIA/SRS-5



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TO: Recipients of CIA/SRS-5

Numerous inquiries have been directed to the Senior Research Staff regarding the release to the public of SRS-5, INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND YOUTH: THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1957 MOSCOW FESTIVAL (dated 6 June 1957). Because time does not permit reissuance of this study in a form appropriate for press and radio use in its entirety before the opening of the Moscow Festival in late July, a list of sections which must retain the control OFFICIAL USE ONLY has been prepared. Material not included in this list may be disseminated at the discretion of the recipient.

- P. 10 Omit Footnote #5.
- P. 24 Omit Footnotes #10.
- P. 35 Omit last sentence on page in parentheses. The number of delegates expected from India has been considerably reduced since the publication of this paper.
- PP. 36-37 Omit quotation beginning "Asian Youth is a major target . . ." It is permissible to release this information in the following manner: "Reports have indicated that Asian Youth is a major target both for local Communist parties and Communist sponsored international movements . . ."
- PP. 48-52 Omit all of Sections b. and c.
- PP. 55-56 Omit all of Sections f. and g.
- P. 58 Revise sentence beginning "During the week preceding . . ." to read "During the week preceding the 1956 revolution anniversary celebrations, largescale demonstrations were reported in the Baltic states".
- P. 60 Omit Footnote #27
- P. 61 Omit paragraph beginning "There was some dissent . . ."

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THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1957 MOSCOW FESTIVAL

CIA/SRS-5

17 May 1957

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Abstract

The Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students will be held in Moscow from 28 July to 11 August of this year. Such festivals have taken place biennially since the end of World War II, although this is the first time Moscow has been the host. Sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS), the two major Communist youth fronts, the Festival's avowed purpose is to rally World Youth in an expression of solidarity, peace, friendship, and understanding. Under this banner, the mammoth gathering will serve as a major vehicle for current Communist propaganda aims, and as a mechanism for reestablishing control over Soviet and Satellite youth. Attendance at the Festival is expected to reach 30, 000-35, 000 from 120 countries and territories.

This year's Festival is taking place in an atmosphere of unrest and questioning on the part of young people in the Communist countries, as a result of de-Stalinization, the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU and subsequent "liberalization", and, most of all, the events in Poland and Hungary.

The Moscow Youth Festival must be examined against the broad background of the International Communist youth movement. Both the strengths and the weaknesses in Communism's efforts to appeal to young minds are inherent in the design of the Sixth Festival. The often demonstrated skill in emotional and intellectual exploitation of youth, the singleness of purpose in furthering the development of Communism, the acknowledged organizational abilities - these are among the perennial assets of the Communist movement. Control of infiltration of educational systems provides another tactical advantage to the Communists in their struggle

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to capture youth. Particular regional slogans, such as nationalism and racial equality in Asia and Africa, are utilized in wooing youthful sympathies. The opportunities for personal advantage and fulfillment in a career as a Communist are among the attractions offered in obtaining recruits among the future leaders of these areas. Vast resources, both financial and operational, are made available by the USSR and the Satellites, as well as local parties, to permit the fullest utilization of these strengths in the Festival.

Extensive discontent and unrest among the youth of Communist-dominated countries, engendered by disillusionment over the discrepancies between theory and practice of Communism, constitute a danger to achievement of the overall aims of the Festival which its sponsors may be expected to combat vigorously. Within the Soviet Union, this unrest has been manifested by students in attitudes of boredom with ideology, open questioning of the official line, criticism of 'Socialist Realism', 'protest' publications, demands for greater political freedom, objections to social and financial inequities, and expressions of nationalistic feelings.

Within the Satellites, the dissatisfaction of youth with Communism, particularly the Soviet-imposed brand, found violent and effective outlet in the Polish and Hungarian uprisings, and evidence of lesser forms of dissidence has been observed in the other components of the Bloc, including Communist China. Communist Youth in the Free World reacted strongly to the uprisings, with resulting defections and questioning of the validity of Communism, causing serious concern to Party leaders in France, Austria, and other West European countries.

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So far the restiveness of Communist Youth has not directly challenged the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. It has been confined to manifestations of discontent with Communist methods rather than with the system itself. The Bloc regimes are alert to this unrest and have taken certain steps against it which may prove effective. Nevertheless, the ferment has produced a real disturbance in Communist Youth Organizations, giving rise to vulnerabilities which the Free World should exploit.

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I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1957 WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

Introduction

The Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students which will be held in Moscow, 28 July - 11 August 1957, will be an international political event of major importance for World Communism. The result of months of elaborate planning by the Moscow Preparatory Commission for the Festival, it will bring together the leaders or representatives of a great variety of Communist-dominated or -influenced youth organizations from all parts of the world to give voice and lend support to the propaganda aims of International Communism. Lest these aims appear too evident, the Moscow Festival, even more than previous ones, is being advertised as a great, open, non-political rally of world youth, and the theme of "peace and friendship" is receiving even heavier emphasis. The variety and elaborateness of the preparations are designed to make the maximum appeal to young people of Asia and Africa and to youth and student groups with specialized interests. Events and meetings to satisfy every taste are included on the program. In short, the Sixth Festival is being proclaimed by its sponsors as "the greatest ever". It certainly promises to be the largest international gathering of any kind held in Moscow in recent years.

In light of the damage to Soviet prestige resulting from the brutal repression of the Hungarian uprising, the decision to hold the Festival as previously scheduled must have been regarded by the Kremlin as a calculated risk. It was clearly an important move in the bold, flexible process of stabilization which Moscow has been carrying out since the end of 1956.

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The decision to hold the Festival in spite of adverse elements in the position of World Communism was probably made on the basis of an estimate by the Kremlin that such youth gatherings still have a powerful appeal, particularly in the unaligned and underdeveloped countries. In these areas, gains for Communism may, in Moscow's view, offset the palpable losses which the movement has suffered in the more advanced sectors of the Free World.

It is the purpose of this paper to provide a background with respect to Communist youth organizations and activities which may be useful to readers who are not specialists in front techniques but who are interested in the Moscow Festival. The paper gives general information about the 1957 Festival, Communist objectives in proceeding with the rally, and the principal strengths and weaknesses of the International Communist Youth Movement. An Annex provides more detailed information concerning the history of Communist youth organizations.

A. Nature of the Youth Festivals

The biennial youth festivals are designed by the Communists to be among their major international propaganda vehicles. They are spectacular shows and platforms for dramatizing and giving reinforced direction to the continuing efforts of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS) throughout the world. They provide the occasion and the machinery for maneuvering and manipulating the youth auxiliaries of the Party which exist within both the Sino-Soviet Bloc and the Free World. They are thus deserving of special attention, even though many of the less-publicized youth-front activities may in fact be more important to the attainment of Communist objectives.

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The Festivals are an intermingling of serious business with social activities and entertainment, and have athletic events as added features.<sup>1</sup> The serious side is found in the seminars, discussion groups, in large mass meetings and in hundreds of interdelegation meetings. Despite Communist disavowals of ulterior motives, these are designed and manipulated to arrive at political conclusions either explicitly embodying the Communist Party line or implicitly giving support to the Party's objectives. The meetings at this summer's Festival will lay particular stress on professional groups<sup>2</sup> (young industrial workers, farmers, intellectuals, etc.); and other special groups (such as Festival participants who are members of Parliament in their own countries). The "get-togethers" (the Committee's own phrase) are specialized as well as general. They are broken down into industrial sub-divisions such as electrical, metallurgical, textile, railways, etc. There are also "get-togethers" of artists and hobbyists and, to assure complete coverage this year, provision is made for meetings of youth and students of "similar religious faiths".<sup>3</sup>

Among the more serious items on the Festival agenda are: a great rally devoted to the "Struggle for Peace and Friendship Among the Peoples"; a "bonfire of solidarity" with young people in colonial territories; regional meetings between "European representatives" and others from Latin America, Arab countries and Southeast Asia; several meetings "between students from various countries" (to be programmed by IUS);

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<sup>1</sup> See the detailed program in Annex II.

<sup>2</sup> See "Professional Meetings" in Annex II.

<sup>3</sup> The insincerity of this innovation is apparent in view of the Komsomol's continued anti-religious campaigns.

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and "Looking into the Future - an Evening of Scientific Exploration" featuring atomic energy, interplanetary travel, "The World of Tomorrow", etc.

The social and entertainment activities of the Festival will include concerts, plays, folk dances, ballets, including the Bolshoi Theater ballet, performances by winners of stage and musical Festival contests, amateur theatricals by students, dances to jazz music, puppet shows, "an evening of humor", and a circus procession through the streets of Moscow, culminating in a "gala circus performance". In addition, there will be an "international contest of the arts", the celebration of "the anniversaries of scientific and cultural personages", an international film festival, an international art show, exhibitions of stamps and photographs, and exhibits of "international organizations". The sports contests, which are being held separately from the Festival but which coincide with it (30 July - 9 August), will be given special prominence. They will include teams and individual contestants in thirteen major men's and eight women's events. The social events will wind up with a ball in the Kremlin.

In addition, according to the Moscow press and radio in April 1957, flower beds are being planted to "turn Moscow into a garden" for the Festival; a new stadium with a seating capacity of 100,000 has been built along the Moscow River to accommodate mass meetings of the Festival, and a smaller one with a capacity of 16,000 for the lesser gatherings. There is also a huge new swimming pool, and a sports center for 11,000. The Moscow University skyscraper with 6,000 rooms will house the visiting athletes.

The entertainments and sports are the gay wrapping on the deadly serious political tracts offered at the seminars and discussion sessions. If the packaging is more colorful

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and has a more alluring advertising note than at past festivals, it is because of the special effort the Soviet sponsors are expending to make the 1957 Festival their most successful international youth rally thus far, not the least aspect of which is the glamor being attached to its location in the city of Moscow.

B. The Beclouded Atmosphere of the 1957 Festival

Despite the studied attempts to provide an atmosphere of sunshine and fraternal cordiality for the Moscow gathering, the rally will be almost inevitably affected by the troublous events which have occurred within the Communist world since the 1955 Festival in Warsaw. These events have shaken the vaunted "monolithic" unity of Communism and have created doubts, confusions and uncertainties in the ranks of all international front organizations, particularly the WFDY and IUS.

Among the events and developments which have disturbed International Communist youth, the following have been most significant:

1. The temper and trend of developments at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU (February 1956), notably the denunciation of Stalin and the "cult of personality". Throughout the world, Communist youth had been brought up to genuflect before the great Stalin and to pay obeisance to the lesser national deities (e. g. Togliatti in Italy, Thorez in France). The denigration of Stalin undoubtedly came as a greater shock to this adulation-imbued youth than to their more hardened and perhaps cynical elders.

2. The pronouncement by the Kremlin leaders of the "different roads to socialism" doctrine which has resulted in at least an outward show of greater independence from

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Moscow among the Communist parties of several countries (including the Communist Party of the United States). The national affiliates or "locals" of several International Communist front organizations are likewise being impelled by dissent among their members to allow freer discussion and greater flexibility in the adaptation of the policy lines laid down by their Soviet-dominated leaderships. Recent meetings of the WFDY and the IUS have for the first time manifested something less than complete unity and agreement on several major issues. Some of these disagreements may be tactical (i.e. permitted by the Communist leaders to give an impression of liberalization) but some are undoubtedly the result of genuine dissent.

3. Liberalizing developments in Poland. There have been a number of significant changes in the Polish Communist youth organization, which has been able, under Gomulka, to speak out, not only against Stalinism, but also against rigid domination by Moscow.

4. The unexpected, spontaneous and violent revolt in Hungary in which students and other "proletarian" youth played a leading part. Many of these youths were mercilessly shot down by Soviet troops and others were deported to slave camps. These facts could hardly be kept from the youth organizations outside of Hungary; their impact is still being felt.

5. The evidence of student restiveness, questioning and dissent within the USSR itself and of the Soviet regime's sensitivity to such manifestations. Among the signs of such sensitivity was the sharp Soviet reaction to Mr. Allen Dulles's recent speech at Princeton University<sup>4</sup> suggesting that student

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<sup>4</sup>"The Challenge of Soviet Industrial Growth" by Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence, at Princeton University, 12 December 1956.

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dissidence exists. Mr. Dulles speculated that

" . . . in introducing mass education the troubled Soviet leaders have loosed forces dangerous to themselves . . . there is growing in Russia today . . . a race of human beings inquisitive about the fundamental principles that make it possible for men to live together in political societies. In particular, there are well-substantiated reports that the students are becoming restive, inquisitive and outspoken in their demands for a critical examination of the infallibility of a system which produced the abuses of Stalin . . . the leaven of education has begun its work; the men in the Kremlin have a hard task ahead to hold this process in check. "

A large amount of space in the Soviet press (both the general and the youth press) and a considerable amount of broadcasting time were given to denunciations of Mr. Dulles by stooge Moscow student "leaders". "Answers" to the questions raised by him were delivered in an "open letter" for world broadcast. In this statement the Moscow students reiterated their absolute loyalty to the Party. They admitted, however, that some of their comrades were "dedicating too much time to the present discussions" and intimated that student questionings were playing into the hands of American intelligence services. It is apparent from the vigor and tone of the protests that the Director of Central Intelligence must have touched a tender spot. (Mr. Dulles's speech was never reproduced in the USSR, but referred to only in the "open letter").

In the light of these and other unsettling events, the Soviet sponsors of the Moscow Festival will probably find it difficult, if not impossible, to stage-manage and manipulate all the sessions and activities so as to achieve the tight dis-

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cipline displayed at their past world youth gatherings and to suppress all expressions of protest or dissent. Presumably the Soviet managers are fully aware of this danger but feel that it is a calculated risk in which the advantages of holding the Festival outweigh the embarrassments which may be caused by questioners or dissidents among the attending youth.

C. The Propaganda Aims of the Festival

The major purpose of International Communism and of the Soviet Union in organizing and directing the youth Festivals has been, from the outset, to use such occasions as world-wide propaganda vehicles for the achievement of both short and longer range objectives. A comparison of the programs and conclusions of past Festivals and the existing Communist Party line discloses the closest correlation. This is true not only with regard to the substance of Communist policies and directives but, with rare exceptions, to the terminology of the slogans, declarations, and manifestoes, prepared by the WFDY and the IUS for these meetings.

1. To Aid Stabilization of International Communism by Recouping Soviet Prestige

The overriding propaganda intention behind the Moscow rally now appears to be the exploitation of the occasion as a part of the many-fronted campaign to stabilize and strengthen the Soviet Union's hegemony over the Communist world which suffered in Hungary the most severe challenge it has ever received. The Festival is intended to help in the re-establishment of Soviet prestige, by a demonstration of collaboration and enthusiasm among the youth of the world

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for "peace and friendship". The willingness of youth from non-Communist countries and organizations to come to Moscow will be proclaimed as a proof of fraternal purpose.

The fact that the gathering is to be held in Moscow in the 40th anniversary year of the Bolshevik revolution is calculated to add lustre to the occasion and to obscure the bloodied, grim picture of a Communist hegemony maintained by the might of Soviet tanks.

The stabilization and prestige-reviving aim is evident not only in inferences derived generally from the tone and content of the Festival preparations but specifically in some of the franker statements of its organizers. The Permanent Commission of the International Preparatory Committee after its meeting in Moscow 10-20 January 1957, issued a statement explaining the purposes of the Festival and justifying the decision to go ahead with plans for it. The Commission said:

" . . . In view of the recent aggravation of the international situation, such an international gathering as the Festival is more valuable and necessary than ever before. The youth of all countries regardless of their convictions and differences, can consider their participation in the Festival as an important contribution to the preservation of peace, the establishment of friendly understanding among young people and the consolidation of friendship and trust among all nations. Today it is more than ever necessary that young people become aware of the necessity of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. This is exactly the purpose to be served by the Sixth World Festival. The Festival is an opportunity of establishing sincere friendship and cooperation in a spirit of respect for each

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other's beliefs; it is an exchange of opinions and experience in the fields of social, cultural, and sports activities of the youth of different countries. The Festival should be an affirmation of optimism and accord of our young generation."

". . . The permanent Commission has decided to make greater efforts with a view to ensuring still larger preparations for the Festival."

Festival, in its February 1957 issue reporting the International Preparatory Committee's statement, acknowledged that there were some questions raised about the advisability of holding the meeting in Moscow this year:<sup>5</sup>

"Since the events which took the world by storm last October, there have been some doubts expressed as to the possible success of the Sixth World Youth Festival.

"However, this doubt was quickly subdued by the optimistic tone which permeated the recent meeting of the Permanent Commission of the International Preparatory Committee. Coming together in Moscow from January 8-10, this commission of representatives from several countries noted the effect that the increase in international tension had had on the Festival. But more important, they emphasized the preparations for the Festival which are taking place in many countries of the world."

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<sup>5</sup> There are indications that during a WFDY meeting held in Prague earlier in January 1957, a Soviet Komsomol representative announced that invitations to convene the 1957 Festival had been cancelled in favor of a date in 1958.

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Notable in the appeals, articles, news stories and letters-to-the editor in the official journals of the Festival and in the Soviet press is the virtually complete silence about Hungary. Achieving forgetfulness by ignoring the situation on the one hand and by diverting attention to a host of other matters, on the other, is clearly a technique for mentally blacking-out Hungary at the Festival.

Some such treatment will be necessary if the Festival is to succeed in its propaganda purposes. Recently there have been a number of tacit admissions by the WFDY that the shock waves from Hungary have caused splits in the International Communist youth movement. To be sure, these equivocal statements have wound up with optimistic professions of support for Kadar-sponsored "new" (i.e. anti-rebel) youth organizations, and appeals have been made for financial and other aid for the "reconstruction" of Hungary. Typical is the statement of the Secretariat of the WFDY published in the New Year, 1957, issue of World Youth:

"Tragic events have hit hard into the life of the youth and people of Hungary. We are aware that different opinions exist among the youth and their organizations as to the causes and character of these unfortunate facts. We are all unanimous, however, our Federation included, in deploring the bloodshed and immense material losses . . .

"The WFDY expresses its sympathy for the victims and supports the urgent work of peaceful reconstruction . . . The WFDY hopes that the new organizations now being built by the Hungarian youth will better understand the desires of the young workers, peasants and students to work for a better life in a democratic independent country, in friendship with the youth of other countries. The Secretariat of the WFDY hopes that the question of withdrawing Soviet

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troops will be solved on the basis of agreement between the Hungarian and Soviet governments, assuring the independence of the Hungarian people and world peace."

This statement is, of course, completely in accord with the official Communist line and with Soviet governmental statements. Apparently the WFDY did not deem it wise, however, to go so far as the official line which describes the Hungarian rebellion as the work of "counter-revolutionaries" and "fascists".

The WFDY's Information Service report in December, 1957, made the following innocuous statement:

"In addition to the statement about Hungary briefly reported in 'International Organizations' No. 70, under Stop Press, the WFDY Secretariat issued an appeal on December 1 to its member organizations to collect funds, food, medicaments and clothing for Hungarian youth. It announced that the WFDY had launched a campaign to assist Hungarian youth in the reconstruction of their country with an initial gift to the value of 10,000 dollars.

"In a 'spirit of solidarity' the WFDY declared itself ready to confer with all organizations for a common effort to facilitate the most effective aid."

2. To Create the Impression that the Festival is Open and Non-Political.

From the first decision to hold the Sixth Festival in Moscow, which was taken in Warsaw at the end of the Fifth Festival in 1955, exceptional efforts have been made to make the 1957 version appear genuinely non-political (i.e. non-

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Communist-dominated) and open to all shades of political belief as well as to all classes, races and creeds.

This motif was already evident at the 1953 gathering and has been played more loudly since, but it has not always been so. At Festivals and other WFDY international meetings in the Stalin days, many of the very non-Communist organizations now being invited to Moscow were denounced as "enemies" of youth. For example, Mikhailov, the Soviet delegate to the WFDY Congress in Budapest in 1949, described as "splitters" the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) and the newly formed World Assembly of Youth (WAY). These two organizations, as well as other non-Communist ones, have recently been urged by the WFDY to attend the Moscow Festival. This is part of the present tactical line laid down by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the broadest "united front".

The first WFDY Council resolution for the Sixth World Festival (August 18, 1955) appealed to

" . . . all organizations to do all in their power to make known the convocation of the Sixth Festival, to spread its ideals, to call upon all organized youth to develop thousands of new events . . . with a view to making the Moscow Festival the result of common work and of the brotherly cooperation of all those who are interested in ensuring a better life for the younger generation and in safeguarding friendship and peace among the peoples forever".

Thus, some six months before the 20th Party Congress and the notable events in the Communist world which have flowed from it, the International Communist front youth organizations had already been instructed to espouse the

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broadest, most flexible "collaboration" line. At the 20th Party Congress, Aleksandr Shelepin, a perennial youth front leader and vice-president of the WFDY as well as secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Komsomol, announced:

"In the summer of 1957, a World Youth Festival will be organized in Moscow which will be attended by over 30,000 representatives of youth from various countries. We are inviting to this Festival youth of different political convictions and religions, Catholics, Protestants, Mohammedans, socialists, communists and radicals. We are inviting youth from America, Great Britain, France, West Germany, from all countries in the world. It is abundantly clear that talk of an Iron Curtain in the Soviet Union is unfounded and idle talk, not warranted by facts." (February 20, 1956).

By August 1956, the external Communist appeals were laying great stress upon the non-political character of the 1957 Festival. On August 18, the Preparatory Committee stated that "greater mutual understanding, confidence and friendship are being established" and emphasized that

"The festival is open to all youth, irrespective of its convictions, race, religious beliefs, or nationality. No political, ideological, or other tendencies will prevail at the festival. It will be held in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding, in the spirit of the friendship of youth of all countries. Its program . . . reflects the hopes and interests of various groups and strata of youth."

The same theme has been reiterated through all the preliminary publicity for the Moscow meeting and is being amplified as the

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time of the event nears. The first meeting of the Preparatory Committee held in Moscow in August, 1956, issued a detailed communique which, in large type, stated:

"Expressing their ideas and views in the most diverse form, all speakers unanimously supported the idea of holding the 6th Festival as an event helping to broaden cooperation, contacts and mutual understanding. It was unanimously agreed that all organizations, all young men and women, irrespective of their political views and religious convictions, race or nationality, could take part both in preparing and holding the Festival."

More recently, Jacques Denis, General Secretary of the WFDY, in the lead article in the Festival magazine, February 1957, made the following persuasive appeal:

"To participate in the preparations for the 6th Festival or in one of its aspects, is to contribute towards the great work for friendship and culture, while fully preserving the right of one's own beliefs, programs and particular methods of activity. . . Our ambition is that the 6th Festival through all its preparations and at the Festival itself should permit young people from all parts of the world to come together, from East and West, young socialists, communists, conservatives and liberals, young people of all religions so that each one contributes something positive and at the same time learns of the experiences of his neighbors."

Through all media, this "come all ye, nonfaithful as well as faithful" appeal has been tolled loudly by the Festival

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sponsors. Perhaps the most disingenuous statement of all was made by Bruno Bernini, the President of the WFDY, in the form of a "letter to the editor" of Festival (September-October, 1956):

"Through the free exchange of different ideas and viewpoints and with mutual respect, this personal contact can make more profound and immediate the exchange of knowledge, and through this - friendship, understanding and peace . . . In this spirit we do not claim priority over anybody but we wish to be the same as all others. We want to organise together this Festival on an equal basis, so that everybody can make his own contribution to the success of this united effort, according to his wishes and capabilities."

Despite these protestations, the essentially political character of the forthcoming Moscow gathering is disclosed in some of the earlier advance articles published in Soviet Communist journals intended primarily for party-circle consumption. In one of the most revealing of these, A. Rapokhin, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, writing in the monthly journal of the Komsomol (No. 6, 1956), declared,

"The Festivals are a big contribution by young people to the universal fight for peace, national independence and a better future . . . the preparations for the festival are proceeding under conditions of a new and mighty upsurge of the movements of the people for the prevention of a new war and for the peaceful settlement of all international problems".

Rapokhin outlined the program for the Moscow Festival virtually as it was later issued by the Preparatory Committee.

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The "peace" and "national independence" language, as we shall see in the following section, is essentially the same as that of the foreign policy line of the USSR and of current and past party directives.

### 3. To Support Soviet Foreign Policy Aims

The extent to which the Festival and the general programs of the WFDY and the IUS underlying that event are focused on Communist political purposes is graphically illustrated by comparing the content and the language of the appeals to world youth made by the sponsors of the Festival with the most recently declared aims of Soviet foreign policy. Those declared aims are derived from two sources: (1) from official Party and Government declarations of Soviet foreign policy, and (2) from the semi-annual "slogans" disseminated by the CPSU to all its units within the USSR and to the Communist parties of the world.

Most of these aims have been reduced to hackneyed phrases during the past several years but they remain, nonetheless, basic. Repetition is a fundamental propaganda technique of the Communists. Tiresome and banal though they may be, the slogans are effective in getting across to a vast audience the really significant elements of their propaganda line. They are not, as some observers in the free world are wont to believe, mere catchwords or ballyhoo phrases. They are carefully thought-out, semantically worked-over statements of International Communist policy which are binding upon all good Communists everywhere (including of course the leaders of the front organizations). The nature and importance of the Party slogans are trenchantly described by Stalin:

"Slogans of such a party as the Bolshevik party, are not mere agitational slogans but something much

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more since they have the force of law which must be carried into effect immediately. Our party cannot issue practical slogans and then defer carrying them into effect. It would be deceiving the masses. Before issuing a slogan, the conditions must exist that will enable the slogan to be carried into effect; finally, these conditions must be created."<sup>6</sup>

Examples of the appeals put out for this year's youth Festival with their corresponding equivalents in Soviet foreign policy and CPSU declarations, are arranged in parallel columns for ease of comparison. (See TAB A following Page 18).

4. To Curb the Dissent and Spur the Efforts of Soviet Youth.

The role of youth in Communist strategy and tactics has been a major concern of Soviet leaders, ever since the formative period of the Bolshevik revolution. (See Annex, Sections A and B).

Lenin, from the first days of revolutionary conspiracy, tended to identify his party with the aspirations of the rebellious younger generation. As far back as the short-lived 1905 Russian revolt, Lenin in a diatribe against the Mensheviks, said:

"We are the Party of the future, but the future belongs to the young. We are the party of innovation and it is to the innovation that youth always gives its allegiance. We are the party of self-sacrificing struggle

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<sup>6</sup>J. V. Stalin, "Right Deviation", published in The All-Union (Bolshevik) Communist Party, 1929.

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TAB A

EXAMPLES OF WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL APPEALS AS A PROPAGANDA  
INSTRUMENTALITY OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CPSU  
INTERNATIONAL LINE

<u>Youth Festival (and WFDY and IUS) Appeals*</u>	<u>Soviet Foreign Policy Aims*</u>	<u>CPSU Line (May Day Slogans, 1957)*</u>
<u>General International:</u>	<u>General Foreign Policy:</u>	<u>General International:</u>
"Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation".	"Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation".	"Peace and cooperation among nations".**
"International relaxation".	"Relaxation of interna- tional tension".	"Relaxation of interna- tional tension".
"Peaceful coexistence".	"Peaceful coexistence".	"Peaceful coexistence".***
"Force the governments to take a stand for the . . . halting of thermonuclear weapon explosions and the banning of same".	"Discontinue nuclear wea- pon tests . . . and the des- truction of existing stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs . . . scrap and pro- hibit for all time the latest destructive weapons".	"Demand the cessation of tests and the complete ban- ning of hydrogen weapons".
"Immediate and important reduction of armed forces".	"Radical reduction of the armed forces of the great powers".	"Struggle for the reduction of armaments and armed forces".
"General withdrawal of foreign troops from dif- ferent countries where they are stationed".	"Liquidation of all foreign military bases".	
"Sovereignty and indepen- dence of all peoples must be guaranteed".	"The Soviet Union stands for 'the sovereignty and right to independence of all peoples'".	"Let the independence of the peoples grow stronger".

Egyptian Crisis

Oppose Britain, France  
and Israel's "planned ag-  
gression, the obvious aim  
of which was to restore  
foreign domination of the  
Suez Canal and regain  
colonial privilege in Egypt  
and in other countries from  
which they had been  
expelled".

Opposition to Britain,  
France and Israel, as  
"the forces of imperial-  
ism" which "decided to  
give battle not only to  
the Egyptian peoples but  
to all the peoples of Asia  
and Africa fighting for  
their freedom and inde-  
pendence".

"Hearty greetings to the  
Egyptian people who are  
courageously defending  
the sovereignty and  
independence of their  
Motherland". (1956 slogan).  
"Warm greetings to the  
peoples of the Arab East,  
struggling against new  
colonialist plans of the  
imperialists, for the  
strengthening of the national  
independence and sovereignty  
of their states!"  
(1957 slogan).

Colonialism and Imperialism

Work for "joint action of  
different organizations in  
solidarity with the youth of  
underdeveloped countries  
for self-determination in  
every nation free from  
foreign interference; for  
national revival in the newly  
independent countries and  
destruction of all vestiges of  
colonialism; for youth in  
colonial countries and  
against all discrimination".

"The Soviet people  
sympathize with the self-  
less struggle the peoples  
of the East are waging  
against the outmoded  
system of imperialism".

"Warm greetings to the  
peoples of colonial and depend-  
ent countries, struggling  
against imperialist oppression  
for their freedom and national  
independence!".

\*Items in this column are  
quoted from World Youth,  
January 1957 issue, and  
from other WFDY and IUS  
publications.

\*All items in this column  
are quoted from USSR  
Foreign Minister  
Shepilov's foreign affairs  
report to the 6th session  
of the Supreme Soviet;  
Moscow radio and Tass  
reports in English, 13  
February 1957.

\*All items in this column are  
quoted from the CPSU May Day  
slogans, reported by Tass,  
20 April 1957, and subsequently  
published in all CP journals.

\*\* October 1956 slogan;  
omitted in May 1957.

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against the ancient rot and the young are always readiest for sacrificial combat . . . we shall always be the party of the youth of the advanced class . . . we need young forces . . . all that is needed is to recruit young people and not be afraid of them. . . The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth and still more the working class youth. Form hundreds of circles among the youth and encourage them to work at full blast."<sup>7</sup>

Throughout forty years of Communist power in the USSR the Party leaders have never become complacent or self-assured about the loyalties of youth. They have concentrated their efforts through propaganda, agitation and indoctrination: (a) to develop the same zeal, enthusiasm and energy in the building of the Soviet Communist state that had been exploited for the revolutionary overthrow of the old order; (b) to create within the Soviet Union the cadres of future Party leadership and the unswerving and unquestioning "followership" - for both political and economic purposes - essential to the maintenance of the CPSU dictatorship; (c) to utilize Soviet youth as examples to be followed by the youth of other countries.

In 1957 the need for a public reaffirmation of loyalty to the regime and to the objectives of International Communism is greater than at the time of any past International Communist youth rally. The increased demands, industrial and agricultural, of the sixth Five-Year plan require greater efforts on the part of the young men and women of the Soviet Union if the manpower shortages are to be overcome and the

<sup>7</sup> Excerpted from The Young Generation, Little Lenin Library, Vol. 26. (New York, 1940).

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quotas met. The Moscow Festival, aside from its international appeals, is being used as the occasion for quieting their dissatisfaction and spurring their energies. Since the Festival, for the first time, is being held in the USSR, the Komsomol is being reminded that it is the "host" to the "guests" from abroad and that its duty is to show off the accomplishments of the Soviet Union. As far back as February 1956, Moscow Radio broadcast an appeal of the Central Committee of the Komsomol:

"The World Festival which is to be convened in Moscow . . . will expand the bonds linking Soviet youth with the youth of other countries . . . the holding of a World Festival in Moscow places responsibilities and great obligations on Soviet youth . . . to greet the Festival of youth and peace with new labor achievements, with active participation in the competition for the implementation of the Sixth Five Year Plan, for the fulfillment ahead of schedule of the 1956 tasks . . . to start the necessary preparation for the Festival right now to develop amateur activities, set up new choirs, orchestras, dance and dramatic companies and ensembles . . . new clubs and houses of culture, and participate in the improvement of towns, workers, settlements and villages . . . Let us show our foreign contemporaries the results of the inspired creative labor of the Soviet people, the wealth of our socialist motherland, and everything of which the Soviet people are proud. "

This theme has been repeated in many other broadcasts and publications within the USSR, and it is expected that the tempo will be stepped up steadily until the Festival is over.

The CPSU's May Day (1957) slogans indicate the special attention paid by the Party to its youth:

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"Long live the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, true assistant and reserve of the Communist Party, the vanguard detachment of young builders of communism!"

"Boys and girls! Be worthy of being sons and daughters of our great people, indefatigable builders of communism!"

"Pioneers and school children! Love work and submit to discipline! Master knowledge steadily and persistently! Prepare to become worthy fighters for the cause of Lenin!"

"Communists and Komsomol members! March in the vanguard of the nation-wide struggle for the realization of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, for the building of communism in the USSR!"

The Party leaders are not depending upon slogans alone to hold their youth in line. In early 1957 the party directorate apparently decided to launch a full-scale drive, as one experienced reporter has said, "to make Soviet youth safe for Communism". Khrushchev and Soviet President Voroshilov made a number of personal visits and speeches to widely scattered Komsomol gatherings in the USSR. On 28 February, at a Komsomol meeting in the Great Hall of the Kremlin, the entire presidium of the CPSU was seated on the platform. The occasion was the awarding to the Komsomol of its first Order of Lenin for wartime services (12 years late!) and a second, for its part in the reconstruction of the devastated areas. A third Order of Lenin was awarded to the Komsomol for its help in opening up new lands. The delegates at this meeting numbered 1200, allegedly represent-

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ing 600, 000 Soviet Komsomol "volunteers" in the new lands, 200, 000 Chinese Communist youth "virgin-land volunteers", and youth organizations of the People's Democracies. Among other exhortations, Voroshilov urged:

"Protect and increase Lenin's great heritage. It is priceless. It belongs to you. You are its guardians . . . remember and cherish the work and the deeds of your older brothers and fathers . . ."

Then, turning to the subject of youthful dissidence, Voroshilov warned:

"You virgin land reclaimers are the best part of the Soviet Union's youth. There are, of course, a large number of young people like you in the country . . . Yet there, as you know, are young people among you, in our midst, who differ from people like you . . . They maneuver, they seek something, they dream about something but certainly not about something they should be dreaming about. Although such people are not numerous, they exist. We must say: 'They should not exist' and take all steps in that direction."<sup>8</sup>

(This passage was included in the broadcast recorded by monitoring services but was omitted from the version published in Pravda 2 March).

Thus, the classic Communist technique of encouragement and threat is being applied from the highest level to the preparation of Soviet youth for its role, at the Moscow Festival,

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<sup>8</sup> The manifestations of ferment and discontent in Soviet youth, which assumed alarming proportions beginning in October 1956, are discussed below, pp. 46 et seq.

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as host and example to Communist youth throughout the world.

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## II. STRENGTHS AND VULNERABILITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST YOUTH MOVEMENT

In order to appreciate the full significance of the Moscow Youth Festival, it is necessary to consider it against the background of the entire International Communist Youth Movement. As has been indicated above, the Soviet leaders would not have undertaken the expense<sup>9</sup> and effort, not to mention the risks of holding the Festival, unless they felt that the benefits would be of a high order.

The following two sections attempt a summary evaluation of the strengths and appeals of International Communism to youth, as opposed to its weaknesses and vulnerabilities. It is apparent that the two are not always sharply contrasted; a strength at one time and in one respect may in another respect and at a different time be a weakness. This is particularly clear in a number of actions of the WFDY and the IUS which, while strengthening the hold of Communism over those who were already within its sway, have antagonized and rebuffed many organizations and individuals who were hesitating on the periphery.

The following analysis makes no attempt to be exhaustive, but is presented solely in support of the contention that the Moscow Festival presents to the Free World a major challenge, both a danger to be averted and an opportunity to be exploited.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> It is estimated that to have staged in the West a rally comparable to the 1955 Warsaw Festival would have cost at least \$100,000,000. The Moscow Festival will undoubtedly be more expensive.

<sup>10</sup> SRS is preparing a study on the International Communist Youth Movement in which strengths and weaknesses will be examined in greater detail.

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A. Strengths

1. Ideological Appeals

There is evidence that, outside the Bloc, the ideological appeals made by the WFDY and the IUS have become relatively less effective among some of the more sophisticated youth of western Europe than in the pre-20th Party Congress era, although considerable numbers are still being taken in by the appeals for cooperation for the larger purposes of world peace and the welfare of youth. It also appears that the appeals to nationalism are increasingly effective in the Asian and African under-developed areas.

The ideological propaganda of the International Communist youth fronts has served in the past as reinforcement to the other forms of indoctrination of youth within Communist-dominated countries. How much this intra-Bloc purpose is still being achieved remains to be seen. The Moscow Festival should throw some light on the degree to which Soviet and satellite youth are continuing to respond to the "world youth" themes.

The combined appeals of the WFDY and the IUS are primarily beamed in three directions: (1) to obtain the maximum support among youth in the non-Communist world for Communist objectives, specifically, Soviet foreign policy aims; (2) to recruit future cadres and members for the Communist party; (3) to inhibit dissent and to produce stalwart and unquestioning young Communists, especially within the Bloc.

The greatest strength of the ideological indoctrination lies in its combined emotional and intellectual exploitation of the aspirations and yearnings of youth. Emotionally, the appeal is to the revolutionary fervor, the militancy, of youth, especially in countries outside the "socialist camp" - youth in

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Communist-dominated countries have already "had their revolution". Originally - and still at times when the occasion demands - the appeal is couched in Marxist-Leninist terms of the proletarian revolution and in the language of The Communist Manifesto. More recently in appealing to the Asian-African areas, the revolutionary call has been for the purpose of achieving "national liberation". Moreover, the terminology has been modernized and somewhat simplified to suit the audiences in non-Communist areas. The theme "you are not working for yourselves alone but for the liberation of all your people and for the creation of a new world" has a call-to-arms effect upon idealistic and impetuous young people. The repeated appeals for world "peace" and against the use of nuclear weapons persuade youth that it is fighting for an obviously "Good Cause".

The intellectual appeal, which paraphrases Marxist-Leninist dogma in a variety of ways, offers the Communist dialectic as the only true "scientific" method for understanding the immutable "social forces" which determine the development of mankind and for solving "the problem that has been put on the agenda by history".<sup>11</sup> Young intellectuals in their desire to find a universal formula, a "single answer", a panacea for their own and others' troubles, come to regard the Communist credo as a revealed and unquestionable truth. They find inspiration in regarding themselves as instruments of historical destiny. Their duty is to act and to lead others in the creation of an order which, no matter

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<sup>11</sup> The quotation is from History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), Short Course. (New York, 1939) p. 334.

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how violent and ruthless it must be in the transitional stage, will inevitably lead to the creation of a classless society in which the state will wither away and all men will become brothers.

To those in the free world who wonder how the unsupported assumptions of Marxism can be accepted as "science" and ardently espoused by intelligent, educated youth, it need only be pointed out that they have been so accepted by many intellectuals, old and young for several decades; the present leaders of the now vast Communist world are precisely those who, in whole or in part, have been willing to accept these basic premises.

WFDY and IUS combine appeals to sentiment and to reason in programs which are concerned with the more immediate interests of youth and students, as such. Among these appeals are: (a) to fight for the rights of youth, especially in regard to standards of living and conditions of employment; (b) to secure for all young people the right and possibility of primary, secondary and higher education; (c) "to promote among students the love of peace and democracy"; (d) "to provide the means of cooperation between actively democratic, nationally representative student organizations"; (e) "to assist the students of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries to attain their full social, economic and educational development; to this end to render to the students and peoples of these countries all possible assistance in their struggle for freedom and independence".

The total effect of these ideological and programmatic appeals may, as evidenced by past propaganda successes of the International Communist youth movement,<sup>12</sup> be counted

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<sup>12</sup> See Annex, History of the International Communist Youth Organizations.

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among the greatest strengths of that movement, even though, as described further on, there has been some counter-effect in the disillusionment of many members who have experienced the inconsistency between the words and the deeds of the youth organizations.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Singleness of Purpose

The International Communist youth organizations, as auxiliaries of the Party, may count among their strengths a singleness of purpose. Their undeviating mission is to convert, to hold, and to use youth in promoting the power of the Communist party. All else - from the avowed lofty, universal purposes, down to the pleasant trips through the side alleys afforded by Festival entertainments and sports - are conscious means to this end. And the means are never permitted to obscure the ends. This unrelenting drive toward one goal is in contrast to the multiplicity of choices offered individuals in a free society. The very diversity which is

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<sup>13</sup> That the ideological appeal is a major one in inducing recruitment to the Communist Party and its fronts - at least in the Western world - is substantiated by a detailed study of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University. See Gabriel A. Almond, The Appeals of Communism (Princeton, 1954). This study analyzes the results of extended interviews with 221 former Communist party members (American, British, French and Italian). Among the major reasons for joining the Communist party, the study shows that for the respondents as a whole, 91% joined the Party primarily for ideological reasons. The range by country, in terms of the percentage primarily induced by ideological appeals were: France, 86%; US, 88%; England, 94%, and Italy, 94%. (Other reasons listed for joining the party were grouped as "self-oriented interest", "group related interest", and "neurotic needs").

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characteristic of western free societies - and which must itself be preserved and defended - inhibits the development of a single-end compulsion. Revulsion against cold-blooded manipulation of people prevents any action which would result in the domination or coercion by any one country or countries, let alone by one political party.

When Free World countries create international youth organizations, they do so genuinely for such purposes as the improvement of the status of youth, generally; the advancement of education and health standards, and the promotion of international cooperation among youth for peace and against hate or prejudice. These organizations are sincerely devoted to such non-power ends; they do not exploit good motives as means to the achievement of arbitrary political power, as do the Communists. Non-power ends of this type are, in the Free World's view, ethical, moral and consonant with the multi-valued orientation of free societies. It is these very qualities, however, which often make it difficult for free organizations to compete tactically with a conscienceless and single-purposed foe, who works untiringly and relentlessly, cares not one whit what means he uses in getting to his target, and does not scatter his shots in hitting it. This does not imply that the non-Communist democratically-motivated organizations may not in a long-range and strategic sense achieve a more lasting victory in the battle for youth; but it does mean that, in a relative sense, the one-goal youth drive may be regarded as among the strengths of the Communist youth organizations.

### 3. Organizational Skill

Again, deriving from the parent Communist Party, the youth front leaders are, above all, good organizers. According to Lenin, a high degree of organization is a necessary condition for success of the party or of its "peripheral" organizations.



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The statutes of the CPSU and other CPs, the Party manuals, the Party directives and instructions are replete with matters of organizational structure, procedure and method. Communists in all countries are taught that they are the leaders, the guides, the organizers of the proletariat and the "masses", and they are thoroughly trained in the techniques of organization, administration and management. <sup>14</sup>

In the case of the youth organizations, the pattern follows the military pattern of command, staff and line structure which also characterizes the organization of the party. Although in theory the authority in WFDY and IUS rests in a congress elected by the rank and file, the actual executive power devolves down through a council <sup>15</sup> to an executive committee which is supposed to meet twice a year, delegating continuing executive authority to a secretariat headed by a president.

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<sup>14</sup> Almond, op. cit., p. 9: "Perhaps the most important difference between the Marxist and Leninist models of the Communist militant had to do with organization. In Marx the leaders were organizers, but they were organizers of large proletarian formations, such as trade unions and the broad labor parties, leaders of study circles, editors of newspapers, and the like. In Lenin, organization was perhaps the most explicit and fully elaborated category with both passive and active components. The militant was organized in a highly disciplined and centralized party, and it was through this tightly knit organization that the proletariat and other social formations were to be organized in dependent, manipulatable, 'transmission-belt' formations."

<sup>15</sup> The 4th IUS Congress in August 1956 abolished the Council.

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The real command echelon in the WFDY consists of a Secretariat composed of a president, a general-secretary and several secretaries, one of whom is always a key official of the Soviet Komsomol. The same type of command structure is focused in the IUS except that the post of general-secretary has been left vacant. The top working staff consisting of a series of bureaus, divisions, or sections, each with a specialized function, is located at the international headquarters. This staff acts as the coordinating device for all member organizations throughout the world. The line organization is the sum total of the "Operating" national member organizations. In addition, operating commissions and committees are created for specific projects, and such special business as the preparation for the Festival.

As shown in the historical Annex to this study, the movement started with a handful of Lenin's young "vanguard" which formed the Young Communist International in 1919. Today the WFDY claims a membership of 85 million in 97 countries of whom about 60 million are estimated to be within the Sino-Soviet bloc and as many as 25 million in the non-Communist world.<sup>16</sup> The IUS claims that in September 1956 it had 3,293,000 student members, most of them within the Orbit.

Between the two World Wars the "skeleton forces" of the Communist youth leagues outside the Soviet Union struggled to recruit new blood and train new cadres for the

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<sup>16</sup> This is regarded as a highly inflated estimate but it remains true that the membership in the Free World is probably in the millions."

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Communist parties in Free World countries. Today the much more broadly organized affiliates of WFDY and IUS are designed to render the same service for the Communist parties on a much larger scale, and additionally to serve as more effective mass propaganda instruments.

One of the organizational advantages of the WFDY and IUS is their team action with other Communist international fronts. The Communists play their world front organizations tactically like a football game; first one player and then another is chosen to carry the ball, with all the others deployed in support for the execution of the particular play. Traditionally the youth and student organizations are in on most plays and when occasion demands are chosen to break the way.

In all "peace" campaigns, the WFDY and the IUS have served in active support of the World Peace Council, (WPC) which is not only the world-encircling Communist front on all peace-and-war issues but also a propaganda coordinating mechanism for all the other fronts. In the penetration of schools and colleges and in the dissemination of appeals to intellectuals, the WFDY and the IUS enter into partnership with the World Federation of Teachers Unions (FISE). On all issues affecting young workers - or when the Communist-dominated unions want the support of youth - the WFDY-IUS join with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). In matters affecting young scientists, or when the Communist tactical needs require a special propaganda effort, as in the "germ warfare" charges in Korea, the youth and student fronts have rendered valuable assistance to the World Federation of Scientific Workers. These and other front organ-

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izations also,<sup>17</sup> as a matter of standard practice, quote from each other's publications. Thus they serve as a team, working from all occupation and group angles toward the specific Communist aims.

#### 4. The Incentives of a Communist Career

Personal ambition for advancement and the enjoyment of special privileges is a human characteristic hardly limited to a Communist society. One of the major evils attributed to capitalism by the Communists is that it is based on the selfish incentive of personal power and privileged status for a few individual "exploiters" of the "masses". In reality, however, such motivation exists throughout Communist-conditioned society and is greatly heightened by reason of the elite nature of the Party. To be a Party member in a Communist state is itself a mark of distinction, setting a person aside from the mass of non-members who, in effect, become second-class citizens. To be a Party leader is to become one of the inner circle of the ruling class, and to enjoy prestige and the tangible perquisites of office such as better jobs, better pay, more rations at lower prices, and better housing than are available to the rank and file of the Party.

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<sup>17</sup> The International Communist front organizations not mentioned above are: The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF); the World Congress of Doctors (WCD); the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ); The International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR); the International Broadcasting Organization (OIR); and the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade (CPIT). These organizations, too, work closely as occasion demands with the youth organizations.

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A career of Communism thus becomes urgently attractive to young men and women of the Bloc. In non-Communist countries many young recruits of the Communist Party and those witting young members of Communist front organizations, who are not so idealistic as to work for ideological reasons alone, also find a Communist career attractive,<sup>18</sup> even though they have to face antagonism outside Communist circles and often risk imprisonment in their own countries by reason of their Party activities. They acquire a sense of self-fulfillment, of ego-reward, in the prospect of going up in the Party hierarchy, of becoming leaders in an esoteric group and of engaging in conspiratorial activity. Neurotic needs, including sadistic impulses, may also be satisfied by the totalitarian nature of Communism, e. g. in the opportunities given the secret police to inflict punishment on helpless victims (the AVH in Hungary is a vivid recent example).

In countries adjoining the Sino-Soviet Bloc, or those vulnerable to Communist incursion and take-over, the young apprentices of Communism may look forward to the day when

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<sup>18</sup> That the proportion of these young people who participate in Communist activities at least partially for reasons of personal interest rather than solely ideological reasons is probably a substantial one, is indicated in Almond's The Appeals of Communism, pp. 230-257. The study shows that of the former Communist Party members interviewed (75% of whom had engaged in Communist-type "radical" activity before the age of 23) the percentage of those who admitted to having joined the Party for "self-oriented interests" was as follows: US, 70%; England, 34%; France, 39%; and Italy, 35%.

Almond attributes the high US percentage to the fact that "many of the American respondents were foreign-born or first-generation native-born and living in situations in which they did not have

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they will receive the rewards for their devotion to the cause. This reward would of course be membership in the ruling elite of their own countries.

These several reasons of personal interest in making Communism a commitment and a career account for the large number of relatively young people in high positions in the International Communist movement and in the governments, industries, and armed forces of countries controlled by the Communists. The Communist youth organizations themselves, with their millions of members, have developed bureaucracies providing hundreds, if not thousands, of paying jobs. Furthermore, even in some countries where the Communists are not in power but are in a position of influence (e. g. in Italy and France), they control the hiring and firing for many jobs outside the Party organization proper, as in Communist-dominated labor unions, cooperatives, city and provincial councils, and commercial enterprises controlled by the Party.

##### 5. Fertile Ground Among Asian and African Youth

Special concentration by the WFDY and IUS on the underdeveloped areas has resulted in large recruitment among the youth of Africa, Asia and Latin America. There were approximately 2,500 delegates from these continents at the Warsaw World Youth Festival, and an even larger number may be expected in Moscow (600-750 are expected from India alone).

satisfactory access to social relationships". Consequently, they often sought to solve problems of loneliness and isolation by affiliating with the Party.

The "self-oriented interests" include not only personal ambition in the narrower sense but also the need for social acceptance or recognition, an attraction of Party membership for those who feel lonely or isolated in the normal social environment.

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In these vast areas, Communists cultivate anti-colonialist and nationalist independence movements with telling effect. Their appeal to young people is particularly strong because they champion racial equality and integration, not only in their propaganda output but in their organizational work.<sup>19</sup>

Young people - especially the intellectually alert, i.e. primarily students - tend to resent racial or ethnic discrimination, true or alleged, more fiercely than their elders. Conversely, they are particularly susceptible to the blandishments of the Communist approach which include giving Asian and African delegations at World Youth Festivals special attention, generously financing visits from and to the underdeveloped countries, and granting scholarships at Orbit colleges and universities.

A report of 1953 describing the special focus of Communism on Asian youth said:

"Asian youth is a major target both for the local Communist parties and the Communist-sponsored international movements. The background to this development is that Western ideas with their basically liberalizing influence have had a stimulating effect upon

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<sup>19</sup> While preparing for the Warsaw World Youth Festival, for instance, each European affiliate of WFDY sponsored the participation of guests from a colonial country: "The Youth of Great Britain has committed itself to give material aid to the youth of Malaya and Kenya in order to make possible their attendance. Swedish youth is sponsoring youth from the Sudan, and youth from Finland their colleagues from Senegal . . . " (Jacques Denis, Secretary General of WFDY, in the Polish Communist Newspaper Trybuna Ludu, 15 April 1955).

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Asian youth. One of the results has been the formation of a 'student class', important, inter alia, because its members have some degree of literacy and some power to express ideas. Moreover, Asian youth and youth movements exhibit a high degree of political consciousness and, in consequence, have become an important factor in the Asian scene, both generally and politically. There is thus great intellectual political ferment, and Communist influence is being brought strongly to bear upon the large and receptive masses of Asian youth.

"The particular susceptibility of youth to Communism, and the successes scored by Communists in penetrating youth movements, arise from the specious claim that Communism is the answer to life's many and complex problems, and from the emphasis placed by the WFDY and the IUS on such topics as 'colonialism', racial equality, equality for women, the freedom and right to self-expression of students, and other similar themes. These themes fall upon ready ears in Asia at its present stage of political and cultural development; and the susceptibility of youth the world over is heightened in Asia as a result of efforts being made throughout the continent to combat illiteracy and bring higher education within the reach of ever greater numbers. "

An impressive example of Communist "racial equality" propaganda is the 128-page picture album "15 Days in Warsaw" published by WFDY in commemoration of the Warsaw Festival. It contains no less than 52 pictures of Asian and African youth, among which 27 emphasize inter-racial fraternization (in 9 cases involving both sexes).

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The intensity of the campaign of the Communist youth fronts in appealing to the Middle East and African areas is further evidenced by the most recent (February 18-21, 1957) resolution of the WFDY's Executive Committee. With regard to the Middle East, the Committee stated:

"The Executive Committee notes with satisfaction that after Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against the people of Egypt peace has been restored in the Middle East. It greets the youth of Egypt, who have heroically defended their independence, as well as the youth of all countries that have supported them and have struggled for peace in the Middle East. It welcomes the assistance given by the UNO.

"The Executive Committee demands the immediate unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops continuing to occupy a part of Egyptian territory, despite the UNO resolutions. It calls upon youth throughout the world to act so as to maintain peace in the Middle East and to espouse the cause of the youth of these countries in their opposition to all attacks against their independence and against deeds that may tend to endanger peace and replace one kind of colonialists by others. "

The Committee then tied in its Egyptian appeal with an impassioned "defense" of the youth of Cyprus:

"In these days the Cyprus problem is being discussed in the UNO. At the same time, arrests, sentences, executions and machinegun shooting are the order of the day in Cyprus.

"Cyprus, as is known, was the principal military base for colonialist intervention in Egypt. At present, this base is a danger for the independence of the peoples of the Middle East and a focus of war in that region. The youth of Cyprus, who for many years have been

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fighting together with their people for the right to self-determination, with no conditions and no military bases, are backed by the whole-hearted solidarity of the young people of Greece, Great Britain and the whole world. The WFDY, which has always defended the rights and interests of youth in the different countries and declared for the elimination of the foci of war in the whole world, has expressed its solidarity with the young Cyprians assuring them of its unstinted support in their cause of free self-determination and the elimination of colonialist military bases on Cyprus."

With regard to Algeria, the WFDY Executive Committee's resolution stated:

"The Algerian question is one of the great problems preoccupying the youth of the world. Bloodshed and the oppression of a people striving for freedom and independence have roused the indignation of the peoples and the youth of all countries that believe in the right to self-determination of all peoples."

Leaving no stone unturned, the Committee also focused on the Cameroons:

"The Executive Committee, paying its homage to the numerous victims of colonialist repression, expresses its solidarity with the youth of Cameroon, whose organisation, the Democratic Youth of Cameroon, has been dissolved, and the militants beaten and threatened with imprisonment.

"The Executive Committee demands of the French trust authorities the immediate cessation of repres-

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sion, amnesty for those imprisoned and persecuted in connection with the events of 1955, allocation of indemnities to all who lost their property, and for the 'Democratic Youth of Cameroon' the possibility of pursuing its activities legally. "

And, finally, South Africa:

"The Executive Committee, concerned about the serious situation created in South Africa by racial discrimination and violent repression against those who oppose it, recommends to the Secretariat to take the following measures:

- "a) to prepare a memorandum on South Africa to be submitted to the competent bodies of the UNO;
- "b) to call on all youth organisations, especially in Africa and Asia, to support the youth of South Africa through all possible means and to gain the support of the UNO for a firmer attitude in this question. "

6. Communist Control or Infiltration of Educational Systems

Inside the Sino-Soviet Orbit, Communist conditioning of the rising generation begins at birth and is pursued unremittingly in the schools. All Communist education is rigidly political and is subordinated to the party doctrines, not only in such "political " subjects as history and civics, but throughout the curriculum in mathematics and biology or geography, and in non-academic activities such as athletics. In keeping with the totalitarian character of the Communist dictatorship, education is "monolithic" - that is, the students learn only one approach in all matters, the Communist approach. They are

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carefully shielded from all other approaches and are not objectively informed about them. The student in a Communist school system has no freedom of decision; he must conform to the official doctrine and must change his opinions whenever the official doctrine changes or he is courting serious trouble.<sup>20</sup>

In all Communist countries, the Communist children's organizations, the Red Pioneers, and the Communist Youth Leagues, are closely connected with the school system. They manipulate whatever student self-government may exist, and they keep both pupils and teachers under surveillance. Membership in the Communist Youth League is usually an indispensable condition for admission to higher education.

This important role of schools in Communist youth activities is not limited to the countries behind the Iron Curtain. It extends in various ways into the Free World. Most important, perhaps, is the Communist influence through teachers' unions. In a number of non-Communist countries, even where the labor union movement as a whole is not under Communist control, teachers' unions are extensively influenced or infiltrated by the Communist Party. On a world-wide scale, these unions are combined in the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, Fédération Internationale Syndicale de l'Enseignement (FISE). This important international "trade secretariat" of the World Federation of Trade Unions claims a total membership of 7 million in 21 countries, the bulk of which is within the Bloc.

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<sup>20</sup> See below, Section B.2 for a discussion of recent manifestation of student unrest and countermeasures taken by the Communist regime.

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Communist teachers can either directly inject Communist ideology into their teaching or at least arouse doubts about whatever non-Communist doctrines they have to expound. The extent and the forms of such influence vary widely from one country to the next and also depend upon the individual teacher's devotion to the Communist cause. The over-all impact of these active Communists should not be underestimated.

Communist influence is also propagated by the practice of granting scholarships for students from non-Communist countries at institutions of higher learning inside the Orbit.<sup>21</sup> The best known example is the return of many thousands of Overseas Chinese students to the Chinese mainland to attend colleges or universities. In recent years, the number of scholarships granted by the Bloc countries to foreign youths, primarily from Asia, Africa and Latin America, has rapidly increased and has now reached several thousands every year.<sup>22</sup> Generous terms as well as curiosity about life in mysterious Moscow or Peiping, lead many non-Communist students to compete for these scholarships.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>In 1956 the International Educational Exchange Program of the Department of State sent 2000 Americans abroad for study, teaching and research (not counting ICA and other technical programs) and brought 4000 students, scholars and leaders from 80 countries to the US.

<sup>22</sup>It has been reported by Egyptian university professors that more than 1,500 Egyptian students have been offered scholarships at Soviet universities for the year 1957.

<sup>23</sup>Through their youth fronts the Communists also have made offers to establish schools in underdeveloped countries - directly to the governments concerned. A particularly impudent gesture of "youth diplomacy" along these lines was reportedly made to the Sudanese Government in April 1956.

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A third way in which Communist youth activities exploit schools is through the establishment of cells, overt or clandestine. The "school cell" of a Communist youth or student organization is the equivalent of a "factory cell" which is the basic unit of Communist parties and of Communist Youth Leagues, for their members employed in factories. School cells provide daily contact among members and constitute a valuable basis for propaganda, agitation, and recruitment. Occasionally, these cells are instrumental in promoting student strikes and other forms of unrest and subversion - a particularly effective weapon in the many countries where uprisings traditionally begin in the university.

In non-Communist countries, the Party's own schools attempt to achieve the same objectives as those within the Bloc. For the more advanced Party youth, a Marxist-Leninist Institute or the equivalent (often under a cover name) is established in almost every country where the Party exists. Additionally, certain affiliates of the WFDY and the IUS serve, in effect, as Party schools.

#### 7. Government Support

Full utilization of the assets described above is possible only with the unstinted support of all the Communist governments. Within the Sino-Soviet orbit, Communist youth organizations enjoy an exclusive state monopoly in all youth matters. Work of the International Communist youth and student organizations on either side of the Iron Curtain is supported financially and operationally by the Communist governments.

Without such backing, the expensive headquarters staffs of WFDY in Budapest and of IUS in Prague would be impossible. The thousands of paid Communist youth organ-

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izers, instructors and workers throughout the world could never receive their salaries out of the very modest, often purely nominal membership fees. As noted above (page 24) a World Youth Festival, with all expenses paid for thousands of participants from far-away countries, lavish spectacles and globe-encircling propaganda before and after, costs many millions of dollars; in the Soviet-Communist orbit, only governments have funds of such magnitude. Special "popular" fund-raising campaigns may, on occasion, be conducted abroad in order to conceal the true source of the Festival's support.

In addition, Communist youth and student organizations in non-Communist countries enjoy assistance similar to that rendered to Communist parties and to other Communist front organizations. They enjoy the prestige of official endorsement by the great Communist powers. They receive subsidies; they may pass sensitive communications through Orbit diplomatic or intelligence channels; if their officials face prosecution for subversive work, they may find a safe haven behind the Iron Curtain; in any event, they are furnished with competent legal counsel and often with carefully engineered propaganda support to establish their "innocence".

Government support of youth organizations has, of course, not been a monopoly of Communism. The youth organizations of the Nazi-Fascist era, closely resembled the Communist pattern; the Hitler Youth in Germany and Mussolini's youth organization in Italy, closely tied in with the educational system and lavishly financed by the government, were ominously similar to the Komsomol, which to some extent they consciously imitated. Democratic countries have no comparable institutions.

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B. Vulnerabilities

1. The Disaffection of Youth: The Realities of Communism vs. the Illusions

A steadily increasing volume of official and unofficial reports was received in the first months of 1957 indicating the existence of discontent and unrest among youth in Communist-dominated countries. These reports range from detailed accounts by participants or eyewitnesses of the revolt of youth in Hungary and Poland to the many examples of non-violent but nonetheless significant dissidence of students within the USSR. All these point to the basic weakness in the Communist youth movement: the undermining effect of disillusionment which sets in when the ardor and dynamism of youth, activated by an ideology which proclaims itself "revolutionary", is stifled by the orthodoxy, deceit and ruthlessness of Marxist-Leninist totalitarianism. The weakness is inherent and probably irremediable in a system which attempts to achieve results on the one hand, by persuasion, and on the other, by dictatorial control.

Young people are more prone than their more experienced and skeptical elders to accept an idealistic appeal uncritically. That is why, as noted in the preceding paragraphs, the lofty aims held up by the Communists are counted as among the strengths of their youth movement. But once youth becomes disenchanted, its reaction is likely to be much more pervasive and emotional than is the case with older people who have learned to "adjust" to the bitter realities; who feel that it is futile to try to change the "facts of life". More than any other sector of the population, youth in a Communist regime is unremittingly indoctrinated, and has great demands placed upon it. At the same time, it is

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prodded to do more and more work in the factories, on the farms, in the party formations, and in the armed forces. As a result of this constant pressure, it inevitably comes to perceive the inconsistencies between theory and practice, between word and deed. Youth cannot forever accept the rationalizations put forward by the priesthood of the Party. It becomes a prey to doubt which, in turn, leads to discontent and disaffection. So long as the regime can keep an iron discipline with police terror as a threat, the doubt remains quiescent. However, when the regime itself chooses to unmask some of its basic deceptions (as in the denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Party Congress) it cannot avoid allowing a modicum of freedom to discuss the issues arising from so shocking a disclosure. Doubts, now much fortified, find expression in serious ferment and unrest. That is what has happened in the USSR in the latter part of 1956 and early in 1957. The Kremlin leadership's alarm over student unrest has led to a full-scale Party campaign within the Soviet Union against "ideological deviations" and "unhealthy ideological tendencies".

## 2. Extent and Nature of Youth's Discontent in the Soviet Union

The present cleavage between Communist leaders and the young intelligentsia appears to be greater than the normal antagonism between generations. Student dissidence has not been limited to any single university (although the examples of protest at Moscow University have received the largest amount of attention because of the university's prominence) nor to any particular academic group. Complaints of ideological deviation have come from a number of cities in the European area of the Soviet Union - from

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Leningrad to Sverdlovsk, from the major Baltic cities and from Minsk, Kiev, and Kharkov.

The principal elements of the Soviet students' discontent are discussed in the following sections.

a. Boredom and Apathy toward Ideological Indoctrination

Student and Komsomol groups have repeatedly demanded a curtailment of required instruction in Marxism-Leninism, and science and art students have questioned the value of "diamat" (dialectical materialism) in their curricula. In response, the authorities have called for the improvement of ideological indoctrination and are attempting strict enforcement of attendance at obligatory political courses.

The boredom and apathy of Soviet youth was admitted at the Komsomol congresses in 1956. Komsomolskaya Pravda of October 16 stated:

"In the past it has happened that Komsomol members abandoned their studies in political schools, as they were very dissatisfied with them. This happened when the propagandist, instead of helping the students themselves to understand the facts and to analyse events, only presented them with ready-made formulae."

The same paper, (September 11), reviewing the year's studies in Komsomol circles and political schools, said that propagandists had often left the burning questions of the youth unanswered and "did not attempt to create an atmosphere propitious for comradely discussions and a wide exchange of views".

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The Soviet Literary Gazette, March 7, describing a Pioneer (Soviet Boy Scout) meeting, said "the boredom was so thick, heavy and impenetrable that it was almost palpable. As long as our work with the Pioneers consists of nothing but speeches and reports, as long as we have electric fires instead of real ones, as long as there is no vitality, there will be no enthusiasm and no romanticism".

Innumerable other instances of ennui have been noted, sometimes openly, sometimes tacitly, in the Soviet press and in reports from foreign observers who have talked to Soviet students, as well as from almost all youthful defectors from Communist countries.

b. Open Questioning of the Official Line

The loss of confidence of Soviet students in their regime is attested by numerous reports from reliable sources. Questions at university lectures have displayed impatience with the lecturers bordering on contempt.

At a lecture on "International Events" held in the Lenin Library in Moscow, October 30, 1956, about 200 Soviet students were in attendance. The lecture, a stereotyped survey of current international developments, skipped lightly over the recent events in Hungary and Poland. The students paid little attention to the speaker and some yawned loudly and rudely in his face. They were waiting for the question period. At the end of the lecture the speaker solicited written questions, stating that "the Party, in accordance with the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, is pursuing a policy of open and frank discussion of current problems". He received over 50 questions, every one dealing with either Hungary or Poland. The speaker, apparently quite unprepared for this response, tried to shift to other, less explosive subjects. Each attempt was met by cries

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of "enough of that. We demand to hear the truth about Hungary and Poland". The speaker then asked if there was anyone in the audience who "believes that the Soviet press does not print the entire truth". In response, the entire audience of 200 stood up in unison. The speaker was completely taken aback and tried to duck the issue again. The audience then all walked out of the hall.

The next lecture at the Lenin Library on December 6 was devoted to the subject "The Vigilance of Soviet Man". This in effect was what in Western countries would be called a lecture on "security" in the broader sense of the term, i. e. vigilance against foreign subversive ideas. The lecturer was a Party official sent to talk to the students to give them the correct Party line on questions which might have been put in their minds by the Voice of America and the BBC. As before, the students paid little attention to the formal lecture and waited for the question period. They then bombarded him with a series of questions, ranging from such subjects as the meaning and extent of "hooliganism" in the USSR to details about Hungary. The speaker in each instance tried defensively to give the "standard" Party position. The students, dissatisfied with the answers, became restless and broke into hoots and jeers, and again finally walked out on the speaker.

The Western observer, who reported these outbursts, gained the impression that the students to whom he had spoken are beginning to think that "possibly the fault lies somewhere in the Communist system itself", even though there was no open expression to that effect.

The inherent paradox in Marxist ideology's effect on youth begins to make itself evident here. The observer points out that when students have been brought up on Marxism they

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have to accept the tenet that human phenomena are explained by the nature of the system in which they occur. Thus it would not be illogical for students to begin to think that there is something wrong with a system which produces Stalins, Hungarys and Polands.

c. Cultural Revolt against "Socialist Realism"

Soviet students have begun to resent the straitjacketing of literature and the fine arts within the rigid framework of "socialist realism". At a recent lecture on Soviet literature, Moscow University students seized the opportunity to protest against the "bureaucratic degeneration" of the Soviet system. After taking over control of the meeting from the university staff, the students called their own representatives to the rostrum and roundly applauded their sallies at the government. The speakers stressed the need for more effective "public control" over government ministries and insisted that this control should develop from below. They deplored the official pretexts such as "the dangers of infection by bourgeois ideology" which were used to suppress criticism. They emphasized that no effort had been made since the 20th Congress to apply Marxism-Leninism "creatively" to the country's political and cultural needs. They derided the official journals of both the Party and the Komsomol for publishing only stereotyped articles reiterating obsolete formulae and evading the issues of the day.

At another lecture at Moscow University entitled "The Latest Tasks of Modern Soviet Literature", students again showed their restive mood. The lecturer, one Professor Brovman, a "Laureate critic" of the Soviet Union and a member of the Union of Writers, found it necessary to begin by telling the students that they would not be permitted to read during the lecture. After a hackneyed sum-

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mary of the "great events" in the Soviet Union in 1956, he said that a more objective approach to Soviet literature was the outstanding feature of the year. Numerous works which had been suppressed during the period of the personality cult were now being published. Modern Soviet writers ("modern" defined as after 1953) have been writing about the "little man", not the "big man" as in Stalin's day. And the "masses" have begun to appear in novels. ". . . those who speak about the old truths do not deserve respect; only those who proudly advance new truths should be respected".

This approach was enthusiastically received by the students. Said one: "Maybe he's going to say something, maybe he's different". The speaker went on to appraise some of the current and "non-conformist" writers who are favorites of the young literati. The students applauded when he said something favorable and expressed disapproval when he belittled those writers or indicated they were "out of line" with the Party doctrines. When the speaker described one author, Vladimir Tendriyakov, as a "failure" because the hero in one of his works was "too indifferent in his attitude toward society", one student shouted from the rear: "So what if he's indifferent to society? So what?" The speaker shouted back that he would tolerate no interruptions to his lecture.

The students' attention was greatest, however, when the lecturer spoke of the contemporary literary idol of Soviet youth, Vladimir Dudintsev, author of Not by Bread Alone, which has become the center of a lively controversy<sup>24</sup> within

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<sup>24</sup>Dudintsev's novel has been roundly condemned in the official Party and Government press, largely because of "its lack of concern for the collective" and its emphasis on in-

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the Soviet Union. The lecturer said some kind things about Dudintsev's ability as a writer but sharply criticized his unorthodoxy. He did his best to express the Party's line on the author, but the students would have none of it. However, as the Western observer points out, it was not only the students' reaction which was noteworthy but also the fact that the speaker, in this instance, did not echo the party line in a dogmatic or flamboyant manner. Instead, he appeared to be appealing to the students for an "objective" approach, in itself a significant concession to the new intransigence of Soviet students.<sup>25</sup>

d. Report from a Moscow University Student

A detailed account of unrest at Moscow State University was recently received from a Russian student by Forum,

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dividuality. It was the subject of a riotous student meeting in Moscow on November 2, 1956, at which the author himself had to counsel moderation.

<sup>25</sup>Dudintsev is not the only recent writer who has, by implication, criticized the crushing effect of the Soviet system on creative individuality. Even prior to the death of Stalin, Vladimir Dobrovolsky, in a novel entitled Zhenia Maslova (published 1950), presented his leading figure as "an idiosyncratic romantic" and a "troublesome old man" from the Party's viewpoint; yet, to the author and to the unprejudiced reader, the hero emerges as a "valiant figure", morally victorious over his bureaucratic critics. For an account of this, and a number of post-Stalin works depicting ferment in Soviet society, see Vera Alexandrovna, "New Trends Among Soviet Youth", in Soviet Survey, published by the Congress of Cultural Freedom, London (April 1957), pp. 10-15.

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a Free World journal published in Vienna.<sup>26</sup> The concreteness of the report and the fact that many of the incidents it cites have been corroborated in other reports give it a ring of authenticity.

According to this letter, on November 30, 1956, a student posed a question "of decisive importance, perhaps the decisive question of Marxism" in the discussion period following the compulsory lecture on Marxism-Leninism. After pointing to Lenin's tenet that the general strike is a weapon of the proletariat but must never be used as an instrument of the exploiting class, he asked how it was possible that in a socialist country such as Hungary a general strike could take place against a Communist workers' and peasants' government. In reply the Professor could repeat only what had appeared in the Soviet press about "Horthy-Fascist instigators" and the subversive activities of Western "imperialists". Another student quoted Lenin's classic words on the "party of the new type" which is obliged to take over the demands of the workers in the general strike, and to direct them. It was pointed out that this party of a new type (i. e. the Communist Party) must never take action against a general strike with the methods of the bourgeois exploiters' state - with martial law, military force and the dissolution of the workers' councils. "At this point", the student writer stated, "the discussion deteriorated into a noisy chaos, and the professor chose to leave". News of this stormy session spread throughout the students' quarters, including those of the Hungarians, who were startled by the frankness of the discussion but did not feel that it was wise of them to take sides on this issue directly involving their own country.

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<sup>26</sup> Forum No. 38, (February 1957), pp. 45-47.

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In the course of the post-class discussions the question was openly raised whether the Party bureaucracy has not already become an "exploiting class" in the classic Marxist sense. On the following day handwritten notes appeared on the bulletin boards of the Komsomol organization demanding truthful reporting and free discussion about Hungary. Subsequently the Komsomol called a meeting of members, over the objections of the secretary. In a quick vote, the membership decided to make discussion of "The Hungarian Question in the Light of Marxism-Leninism" the only item on the agenda.

At the Komsomol meeting, a student speaker lashed out at the "over-bureaucratized apparatus" which "has lost contact with the masses and which tries to stay in power with the methods of the already unmasked Beriya". This referred to Hungary, but the comparison with the USSR was implicit and was later explicitly expressed:

"One must ask whether the disregard of the decisions of the 20th Party Congress could not cause a similar development here and whether it is not possible that some day our workers will not rise under the banner of Lenin against their bureaucratic oppressors who have become bourgeois".

The student writer cited other examples of bold dissent, most of which were covered by the official reports cited above. Apparently the incidents were regarded by the regime as sufficiently disturbing to warrant calling a special meeting of the Moscow city-wide Komsomol Committee and of the Moscow Party Committee. The Party Committee decided to "advise" the dean of the University to expel a number of students whose names were to be compiled by the Komsomol.

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The university Komsomol leaders were criticized for "lacking contact with the students, and grave errors in ideological work". On 3 December the university administration expelled 140 students for "hooliganism" and announced the discontinuance of Marxism-Leninism lectures until after the first of the new year.

e. "Wall Newspapers" and "Heresy"

Another - and for the Soviet Union, quite startling - manifestation of student protest has been the appearance of "wall newspapers" at Moscow University. Among other items, these have contained Russian translations of BBC and Voice of America broadcasts, particularly news from Hungary. After the first few issues had been removed by the university authorities, the students took turns guarding the newer editions. It has been reported that the students who were responsible for the "wall newspaper" have been expelled from the university. At Leningrad, another student publication (an overt, not a "wall", magazine) called Heresy has been under severe attack for "decadent" writing and may by this time have been suppressed.

f. Demands for Greater Political Freedom

Student demands for fundamental governmental reforms in the direction of the Western concept of democracy have been reported. Among these is the call for the creation of a second political party in the Soviet Union. It has been reported that at a university meeting, from which Party members were excluded by the non-Party students, a manifesto was drawn up condemning the single party system and advocating the replacement of the Supreme Soviet by a genuinely democratic body based on free elections. Soviet media have not explicitly mentioned such incidents, but there have been frequent indirect references to

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"demagogic statements" and attitudes "alien to socialism".

It would appear, indeed, that there is a certain vulnerability to the regime in the very existence of the Soviet Constitution. The wording of this document appears to guarantee certain fundamental human rights, and provides an "elective" basis for the Supreme Soviet, which theoretically determines the composition of the executive bodies of the government. In practice, "constitutional government" in the Western sense is nullified by the dominant role assigned to the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the document, if it were taken literally, might provide a focus for the demands of youth for greater "legality" in the State and for a broad liberalization of the totalitarian regime.

g. Objections to Maldistribution of Income and Class Distinction

Students have protested the disparity within the USSR between the pay of bureaucrats, party officials, officers of the armed forces and other privileged persons compared to that of the industrial proletariat (the theoretical ruling class in a Communist state). At a student meeting at Moscow University, December 11, 1956, the students hooted down a speaker who questioned the existence of great income differences in the Soviet Union.

Students, likewise, have objected on several occasions to the increasing rigidity of the class structure in Soviet society, a sensitive point for a regime which claims to be creating a "classless" society. Current Soviet literature abounds with references to class differentiation of a type which in the West, or at least in the United States and the United Kingdom, would be reminiscent of the Victorian era.

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Snobbishness and personal stress arising from differences in family and social background are a source of disillusionment for those who have taken the Communist egalitarian promises literally. While some students may derive satisfaction from feeling themselves part of the Soviet elite, the majority probably cannot reconcile such sentiments with the basic gospels of the Communist religion.

h. Expressions of Nationalism

Communists preach "national liberation" or "national self-determination" to the people of the countries emerging from colonialism. At the same time, they reiterate the doctrine of "proletarian internationalism", centered in the Soviet Union, for the Communist parties outside the Bloc and "patriotism to the Socialist motherland" for the peoples of the Soviet Union. Despite years of indoctrination, youth within the USSR continues to display unorthodox sympathies for manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism".

Anti-Russian ferment has become more acute since the disillusioning revelations of the 20th Party Congress. At the Congress itself, Mzhavanadze, Georgian Party First Secretary, warned of the necessity to "nip in the bud any manifestations of bourgeois nationalism". There have been numerous reports of demonstrations in the Baltic Republics and Georgia. From 7 to 9 March, 1956, there were disorders and demonstrations in Tbilisi during which students shouted nationalist slogans and carried portraits of Stalin. That these demonstrations were motivated by Georgian nationalist sentiment and not merely by enthusiasm for the memory of Stalin was shown by the succession of articles condemning nationalism which appeared in Zarya Vostoka after the demonstration. One, dated 24 March, stated:

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"Little attention is devoted in the university to bringing up youth in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to which racial and national exclusiveness, nationalism and chauvinism and disrespect for other peoples and natives are alien. "

On the same day the paper reported that during the 1955-56 academic year, 2,682 "man-hours" had been lost on Marxism-Leninism at Tbilisi State University, while the corresponding figures for dialectical materialism and political economy were 2,231 and 1,665 "man-hours" respectively.

During the week preceding the 1956 revolution anniversary celebrations there were largescale demonstrations in Vilnius and Tallinn. As in Georgia, the ringleaders were students who shouted nationalist slogans demanding the withdrawal of Russians from the Baltic Republics and the release of intellectuals from prison.

The leading article in Soviet Estonia of 23 November 1956 revealed that all is not well in the republic's Komsomol organization. Speaking of what should be done to improve the ideological education of young people, the article says:

"Educational work in the hostels where a considerable part of the young people live must be seriously improved. Much more must be done than hitherto to struggle against any and all attempts to infect the minds of young people with the poison of nationalism and religious prejudices, against drunkenness, hooliganism and other remnants of capitalism. "

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3. The Revolt of Youth Within the Satellites

a. Hungary

The revolt of Hungary, in which youth, together with the workers and intellectuals, displayed unparalleled heroism, has brought to the surface a current of discontent and hatred whose depth was certainly not suspected in the West, and probably not in the Soviet Union. The revolt has been ruthlessly quelled but Hungarian youth remain tense and potentially rebellious. All leaders of the revolutionary student committee in Budapest have been arrested, with the exception of one who succeeded in escaping to the West. But Soviet Communism's hold on youth has not been, and probably cannot be, restored. The failure of the Kadar regime to set up a new "loyal" organization of any significant size is evidenced by the fact, admitted by the regime itself, that the recently organized Hungarian Communist Youth League has been able to enroll no more than 40,000 members as against a membership of over one million in the pre-revolt Democratic Youth Federation. The secretariat of the WFDY (which has relocated in Budapest after fleeing from the city during the revolt) has also been making intensive efforts to create new mass organizations in Hungary but so far has been singularly unsuccessful.

The continued loathing of Soviet Communism is graphically illustrated by a Hungarian school teacher in a letter published in the Communist youth weekly Magyar Ifjusag on 2 February 1957:

"When I go into the common room, all the other teachers suddenly fall silent. There is an ice-cold impenetrable wall between us . . . I am the only Communist teacher in our school. I go about as if branded.

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" . . . Class One staged a demonstration in the corridor and bawled at the top of their voices: 'We don't want to learn Russian'. . . . I don't see why it should be a sin to tell the children Russian fairy tales. But the other teachers said that if they had to be told fairy tales, let them be French or something like that.

"I have to watch every word I say. There is such an atmosphere here that it is a crime to mention the name of Lenin . . . "

b. Poland

In Poland a majority of youth is bitterly hostile to Soviet Communism. A conference of representatives of Polish youth held in December 1956 decided to dissolve the existing Union of Polish Youth (ZMP) and to form a new "Revolutionary Youth Union". The intention of the conference was to create a fairly loose, coordinating federation in place of the monopolistic ZMP. The conference adopted a strong resolution, using language which would have been inconceivable in the pre-Poznan days:

"The monopolistic, pseudo-political organization of the younger generation (the ZMP) has ceased to exist. It was the embodiment of the Stalinist concept of the youth movement. Its aim was to falsify and obliterate existing differences, to neutralize the political aspirations of youth, to rear blind, soulless and obedient robots. Its decline and fall is the result of the process of de-Stalinization<sup>27</sup> and democratization . . . "

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<sup>27</sup> Typical of the disillusionment of Polish youth after the disclosures about Stalin was a letter from a student of the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute, who declared "I do not know how to change my soul for the fourth time without the fear that it will become a rag."

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The resolution set forth certain new political aims. The new organization would work for the construction of the "Polish Socialist model", for democratic rule and for Poland's economic and political sovereignty; it would "discard the pattern of Communist morality falsified by Stalin" and would attempt to "revive Socialist humanism". The resolution also raised the significant question of the organization's membership in the WFDY. The Polish Union, it said, would not agree to "uncritical membership"; WFDY should make "considerable changes toward greater freedom and tolerance".

The formal resolution also expressed adherence to "national Communist" principles attributed to the Gomulka regime:

"The Revolutionary Youth Union recognizes the leading ideological role of the Party and the importance of its political leadership . . . (it) will carry out the Marxist line of the Party of the working class, maintaining its right to influence the shaping of this line . . . (it) considers itself an autonomous organization. It is neither an annex of the Party nor does it want administrative direction of the union by the Party. It is of the opinion, however, that the Party can and should influence the union through its members in the ranks of the union . . . "

There was some dissent at the Polish youth conference, however, to paying even this much obeisance to the Party. One delegate is reported to have said, "We should support the revolutionary youth movement, but not a Communist organization. Only a minority of young people have a Marxist outlook at the present time".

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The general tenor of this founding session appears to express Polish youth's high expectations and aspirations under the new order. In January, however, the Gomulka regime itself sponsored a new "official" youth organization, the "Union of Socialist Youth". This organization, somewhat more "conservative" in its views, is now regarded as the over-all coordinating federation. The Revolutionary Youth Union has been effectively incorporated into the new parent body. There have also been created a Union of Rural Youth and a Union of Polish Boy Scouts.

On January 15, 1957, these three youth organizations, meeting jointly, agreed to "re-establish" contacts with the WFDY but to proceed with caution. Bruno Bernini, President of the WFDY, visiting Warsaw January 20-26, was informed that the Polish organizations were willing to maintain "close contacts", even though not yet ready to re-join the WFDY, and were willing to send delegations to the Moscow Youth Festival.

Despite its relative moderation, the Union of Socialist Youth has exerted little appeal in the first five months of its existence. Its membership in May 1957 was estimated to be about 60,000, compared to 2,000,000 in the quasi-official, pre-Gomulka ZMP. The membership of the "non-official" Revolutionary Youth Union is not determinable at this time.

One of the features of the present movement which seems to interest serious youth is Po Prostu, the weekly organ of "students and young intellectuals". This journal has become famous throughout the Bloc for its outspoken and penetrating commentaries. It has come to occupy a unique place in the "unofficial" campaign for liberalization. In recent weeks it has come under closer Party scrutiny and

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its editor has been dismissed, but it continues to be outspoken. Its influence was described by a Radio Warsaw commentator in Novy Kultura (April 18, 1956): "Today anybody in Poland who wants to form his own opinions and who wishes to see the world in a new light should not only study the 20th Congress but also Po Prostu."

Events in Poland have had a strong influence in both satellite and Soviet universities. Since last October, Polish newspapers have been eagerly read by Soviet students; Polish-Russian dictionaries are in great demand by students who spend their free time translating articles in the Polish press into Russian. It has been reported that the Soviet authorities have sent many of the Polish students back to their homeland. This measure is said to apply mainly to students of the humanities; technical students will be permitted to remain.

c. Other Satellites

In Bulgaria, radical purges by the Communist authorities and the secret police have produced a general paralysis in the life of the Dimitrov Youth Association. According to reports from Sofia, some 200 high school, and 1,500 university and technical school students were arrested, and there is talk of a plan to deport them to the USSR, within the framework of an economic agreement with Moscow.

There is ferment among the students in Rumania. At the first meeting of a new student association in Bucharest on 9 March, Minister of Education Constantinescu significantly admonished the students to take a stand against reactionary idealistic trends, and to keep "the poison of the cosmopolitan ideology from infecting their ranks".

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Although the situation is not so critical in Czechoslovakia, the Communist press, particularly the youth organ Mlada Fronta, has complained of the passivity and the unpolitical spirit of Czechoslovak youth. A new regulation for admission of students to institutions of higher education prescribes that, henceforth, admission will not be granted on the strength of school certificates or entrance examinations but on recommendations from political organizations, an indication that students are no longer trusted.

Students in East Germany were among the first to take courage from the Hungarian and Polish examples. They openly opposed the leaders of the Communist Youth organization Freie Deutsche Jugend (FDJ) and expressed dissent in various forms, including a widespread demand to end compulsory lectures on Marxism-Leninism and in the Russian language. Demonstrations in favor of the Hungarian rebels were reported at several universities. In the medical schools of Leipzig and Humboldt universities, the students organized their own meetings in defiance of edicts from the leaders of the FDJ and passed resolutions demanding free choice of foreign languages, abolition of compulsory tests in Russian and of compulsory ideological instruction; they also demanded an opportunity to study the "Philosophy of Idealism". At Dresden University, students complained of the lack of information concerning Poland and Hungary compared to what they admitted hearing from Free World radio stations. Party Chief Walter Ulbricht in December, 1956, took note of the official student disturbances and threatened to "take a stand against those . . . who indulge in disruptive criticism . . . and who express doubts and take a negative view of everything so far achieved . . . wherever these troublemakers appear in the faculties they must be stopped . . . "

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#### 4. Communist China

Official concern over student "indiscipline" and "failure to distinguish friend from enemy" in Hungary was expressed in Chinese Communist press and radio broadcasts early in 1957. Students have also been berated for "doubts aroused by the international situation", for "irresponsible behavior" and for a "lingering feeling of individuality" which causes them to place their personal interests ahead of those of the state.

In at least two institutions of higher learning (Chengting Technical School of Geology and Tsinghua University) the students sought to organize mass demonstrations to present demands for liberalization similar to those in Poland and Hungary, but they were "dissuaded" by Party and youth-organization leaders. Subsequently, it was reported, classes were suspended at both institutions and all students involved were compelled to attend new "remedial" courses of political indoctrination. Despite this punitive action, posters regarded by the regime as "both dangerous and impertinent" had appeared on the walls of the schools.

Recent statements in the Party journals indicate that relaxation of student indoctrination has led to instances of impertinence toward teachers, absenteeism from classes and refusal to participate in school-sponsored welfare work. Students were said to have become confused between "socialist democracy" and "bourgeois democracy".

Teachers are also being severely criticized by the regime. They have been charged with "a laissez faire attitude" and a failure to display interest in student political matters which will lead to "the development of bureaucratic individualism and radical democracy among the students".

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Paralleling recent moral strictures of the Soviet regime, Peiping authorities have asserted that "fondness for extravagant dance parties, where Western jazz is played and women rascals abound" has exposed Chinese youth to "corrosive" capitalist concepts and has had an adverse effect on their factory production and ideological studies.

As in other parts of the Orbit, the official counteraction to dissent is compulsory attendance by all students and all senior youth organization members, including factory workers, at new and intensive courses of ideological indoctrination.

The disturbances at the Chinese universities have been freely reported in the Communist press. The official explanation of this situation stresses the overcrowding of the institutions of higher learning. It is claimed that almost twice as many students were admitted in 1956 as in previous years. Although Chou En-lai, at the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (September 1956) promised the expansion of educational facilities, it would appear that there is still a great shortage of classrooms, with the result that classes have to be staggered. Thus, the current academic situations may be largely a manifestation of "growing pains", rather than of serious ideological crisis.

5. Repercussions among Communist Youth Organizations of the Free World

The impact of the Polish and Hungarian uprisings produced a chain reaction on Communist sponsored youth organizations of the Free World, which was intensified by the indignation and shock of the "bourgeois" press, especially

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in Western Europe and the United States. As a result these auxiliaries or fronts of the Communist Party have experienced discord, confusion and rifts on a hitherto unparalleled scale.

In Austria, for example, the reaction among the members of the Communist youth organization was so strong that the head of the Austrian Communist Party, J. Koplenig, found it necessary to devote a considerable part of his speech to the 17th Congress of the Party to the problem:

"I wish to mention a great weakness of our party, which was insufficiently expressed in the documents for the preparation of the party congress, a fact which was correctly and sharply criticized. I refer to the problem of youth . . . Youth's interest in technical progress, in sports and travel can be linked with our aim to establish peace and international understanding. Finally, youth's interests are devoted to the problems and perspectives of their own lives. It is a characteristic of our time that youth is participating increasingly in production. This makes it imperative for us in our struggle for the economic, social, and cultural demands of the workers to give better and more thorough attention to the wage, working, and housing conditions of the young people and to devote the greatest attention to our youth in all movements, actions, and struggles.

"In order to win the young people for our party and for the struggle of our party it is necessary that the Communists, particularly in the enterprises, establish close contact with the young workers. Particularly our shop stewards and trade-union officials can do much here. The party must help to strengthen the Free Austrian Youth and to promote its development."

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In France, the malaise which had been developing in the Communist front "Union of the Republican Youth of France" caused the Central Committee of the Party to make a far-reaching decision to transform the front into an openly-labeled Communist organization. The new organization is known as the "Union of the Communist Youth of France" (UJCF). It was also decided to establish a collateral openly-Communist student organization, the "Union of Communist Students of France" (UECF).

The Founding Congress of the Union of Communist Youth was held at Ivry 14-16 December 1956. According to the official Communist newspaper L'Humanité, there were 824 delegates present from within France and representatives from the youth organizations of most other European countries and from the International Communist front organizations.

Maurice Thorez, addressing the Congress, stressed the classic role of Communist youth as a school for developing a hard core of future cadres for the Party:

"The Union of Communist Youths is the best school for those who are about to become men. They find there the teachings of their only reliable guide: the Communist Party.

"Undoubtedly Lenin was right when he said that 'youths come to Socialism in a manner different from their fathers'. That is why Communist youth must have an organization independent from the Party.

"Nevertheless, Communist youth is inspired by the teachings of the Party. It makes use of this treasure, in which are founded and welded together revolutionary enthusiasm, the wisdom of scientific thinking, the energy of the future and the experience of the past.

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"For their part, the organizations and ruling bodies of the Party, on every level, will never forget their duty, not only to defend the demands of youth, but permanently to support the Union of Young Communists, to watch over its development and to help its progress by every means possible. "

Apparently a considerable debate had occurred within the French Communist Party over the tactical wisdom of abandoning the front for the more overt type of Communist youth organization. The grounds for the unprecedented change-over were probably (a) discord and disunity within the front organization arising out of de-Stalinization; (b) unwieldiness and diffuseness of the broad based front; (c) excessive personality conflicts; (d) a new tactical line, decided upon by the leaders of International Communism, to tighten ranks by creating youth arms of the Party more directly under its control and more amenable to its discipline.

If it is true that this represents a new tactical line - which in fact would be a reversion to the type of Communist youth organizations existing during the period of the Young Communist International<sup>28</sup> (YCI) - this, indeed, could lead to a drastic change in the character of WFDY and IUS. Such a course would imply that the Communists have re-appraised and have found them wanting in the present youth front tactics. It is too soon, however, to arrive at such a conclusion. While the changeover appears to be a trend in Western Europe, there is as yet no evidence that such a policy has been adopted for the "colonial" countries of Africa and Asia. Thus the Com-

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<sup>28</sup> See Annex: "History of the International Communist Youth Movement", pp. 82 f.

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munists may go along with a bifurcated youth movement: half front and half open. Whatever their intention may be in pursuing such a policy it would certainly appear that the total effect would be to disunite the Communist youth movement in its present form and make it more vulnerable to attack by its opponents..

The French Communist leaders - perhaps the staunchest Stalinists in the Communist world today - apparently have some misgivings about the faithfulness of their own youth. At any rate, there has been a rather conspicuous lack of emphasis on the Festival in the French Party press. While the Communist press of other countries has been steadily exhorting delegates to attend the Festival, almost no space has been devoted to the subject in L'Humanite. This relative silence has been attributed by some observers to a fear that French young people might be contaminated by the national-Communist ideas of representatives of countries such as Poland or by contact with dissidents among Soviet youth. The French Party is planning to send a delegation to Moscow but it will undoubtedly be more carefully hand-picked than usual.

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## CONCLUSIONS

### The Moscow Festival

Judging from the results of past World Youth Festivals, it seems probable that the 1957 Moscow event will achieve the purposes for which it was designed: to help the Communist Party of the Soviet Union attain some of its major current propaganda objectives. Among these objectives are: (a) stabilization of International Communism after the shocks and strains of de-Stalinization, Poland and Hungary; (b) intensification of Soviet influence in the highly volatile but uncommitted Asian and African "colonial" areas; (c) reinforcement of the weakened hold of the Communist parties over their own youth.

The 1957 Festival will be lavish and meticulously organized on an unprecedented scale. The converging on Moscow of thousands of young people, representing dozens of races and nationalities, and the display of confident bonhomie by the Soviet leaders will suggest that all is well in the Communist empire. The great show will seem more real to many of the participants than bloody strikes in Poznan or rubble in Budapest. Cameras and microphones will focus on African and European, Asian and Latin American, Moslem and Christian, Buddhist and Hindu debating with the exuberance of youth under the tolerant spires of the Kremlin. From the multi-national assemblies and innumerable interdelegation and professional meetings will come resolutions in favor of peace, disarmament, colonial freedom, and racial equality which will be subtly employed as indorsements of Soviet policy. The Communist leaders can probably also count on national pride and the excitement of the Festival to divert the attention of many of the Soviet young people who have been in a questioning and disputatious mood during the past year or two.

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They will also count on their internal vigilance to make sure that nothing really gets out of hand.

Any advantages to the Free World may be less tangible and longer in disclosure. Despite the impressive staging (and Potemkin-village effects such as were created for the 1955 Warsaw Festival), the USSR cannot be entirely hid from thousands of curious visitors, and some of them are bound to make comparisons between their own and Soviet living standards. Although attempts to manage discussion meetings and to isolate previously identified critics can be expected, there will be representatives of western countries who will insist upon expressing a non-Communist interpretation of events and problems.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the Festival might

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<sup>29</sup> An example of how an intrepid representative of the Free World can break through the rigged arrangements of an International Communist front organization was the speech of the Reverend Candy, representing Canadian peace societies at the World Peace Council's disarmament meeting in Helsinki in June 1955. The Reverend Candy obtained the floor for a few minutes and asked why the WPC never criticized the Soviet Union and always tried to make it appear that the Western nations were responsible for the disturbed state of the world. He indicated that the Canadian peace group he represented had hoped that this would be a genuine, impartial peace-meeting - not one that by implication was Communist-dominated and designed to serve the interests of the USSR. His remarks were widely reported in the free press. Another example is that of Mr. Fred Jarvis, labor-socialist member of the British National Union of Students who, at an IUS Council meeting in Moscow in August 1954, effectively and articulately denounced the IUS as a "Cominform instrument".

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well be the occasion for the public airing of more unorthodox opinions than Moscow has heard in forty years. Some persons accustomed to free societies will probably be affronted and disillusioned when they encounter Communist methods of discussion and resolution-drafting. But these experiences, eye-opening to the minority of unindoctrinated visitors, will, in all likelihood, be less advantageous to the Free World than the ideas and impressions left with thousands of Soviet young people. It is in this respect that the Kremlin is accepting some risk in proceeding with the Festival. Many reports over the past couple of years indicate that among the educated Soviet youth there is a new curiosity about the outside world and a skepticism of the official Communist line. To the several thousands who will be hosts, the rally must seem to be the opportunity to ask a lot of questions that have been accumulating. Unrest and critical attitudes have become even more pronounced among the youth of the satellite countries, although, in this respect, it must be admitted that time has been on the side of the Festival sponsors; had the gathering been scheduled at the time of, or soon after, the uprisings in Poland and Hungary, the tide of revulsion might have caused the cancellation of the Festival.

Young people from Eastern Europe will be present in large, carefully selected delegations, but one can suspect that their Communist seniors must be somewhat apprehensive over their contacts with persons eager for views about the events of 1956. The satellite youth have their questions too. The Free World can hope that a little yeast will be part of the mixed replies that the Communist youth - Soviet and satellite - receive.

It must be recognized, however, that the opportunities for expressing dissent at the Festival will be strictly limited. Communists regularly engineer the large political sessions so that there is little or no chance for open discussion or debate.

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A case in point is the "Hiroshima Day" rally at the Warsaw Festival. That rally - probably the most important of the serious events at the Festival - was deliberately restricted to speeches and to the introduction of resolutions by the leaders of the Communist-dominated Japanese youth organization. There was no opportunity for questions or challenges and the resolutions were, as might be expected, passed "unanimously".

In general, the Festivals are contrived to drown out any sounds of discord in a vast sentimental harmony of youthful comradeship, fun and games. There may be slightly more opportunities at the smaller sessions, but these do not usually receive much publicity. The quality and quantity of the entertainment and sports of the Festivals are more than sufficient to keep the thousands of boys and girls occupied and happy for the entire two-week period. (The Warsaw Festival sponsors in 1955 stated that it would have taken eighty years for any one person to attend all the events, and the Moscow event is being touted as much larger). These gayer doings, while competing with and limiting the occasions for serious discussion, will, however, afford many opportunities for Free World youth to get together on an informal, personal basis with Communist Bloc youth.

While the propaganda gains realized by the Communists from their large investment in the 1957 Festival may meet their expectations within the Bloc and in some uncommitted areas, the total world-wide effect will probably be considerably less than they have hoped for. The Festival has been accorded a cold reception by many Free World countries which are unwilling to lend respectability to this major International Communist front effort, particularly after the events in Hungary. It now appears that the delegations from some key countries will be substantially smaller than the quotas established by the Preparatory Commission and limited in membership largely to the leaders or representatives of already Communist-dominated youth and student organizations.

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The Disaffection of Communist Youth

The nature and extent of dissidence among Soviet students, coming on top of the rebellious actions of Polish youth and the full-scale, fighting revolt of young Hungarians, have apparently startled the Soviet regime quite as much as the Free World. Evidences of such unrest have been repeatedly corroborated and documented by reliable Free World observers. In addition, the Soviet regime, by its Union-wide press and radio campaign, by the personal flying visits to youth meetings of many of the top Kremlin leaders, and by its punitive actions, has admitted its alarm and its determination to quell the dissent. Similar, if not as extensive, youthful disaffection and countermeasures have been reported in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and in Communist China.

There is no longer any question that there is an unanticipated "revolt of youth" within the Communist world, but what it may portend for the future of International Communism remains a matter of conjecture. A valid assessment would have to be based on more evidence than is now available. Some tentative conclusions can, however, be reached. First, it is reasonably clear that except for the Hungarian uprising, the unrest of youth, while it has resulted in some amazingly outspoken criticism of the functioning of the Communist regimes, and, in the satellites, of the fact of Soviet domination, has not yet extended to a questioning of the validity of basic Marxist-Leninist premises or of a "socialist" order.

Thus the quarrels of Communist youth with their official elders still remain essentially "within the family". And it is a safe prediction that the regimes will make every effort to keep them so, if they do not suppress them completely. Nevertheless, the stirring of youth in a system

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which prides itself on its ability, and uses its total educational effort, to shape the young human mind in its own image, remains one of the most remarkable developments in the Communist world since the Bolshevik Revolution. It provides a glimmer of light in what was long assumed to be the successful blacking out of individuality by a totalitarian order. The restiveness of Communist youth, now held within bounds by the regimes, might conceivably at some future time break through into a real movement for a freer society.

A second conclusion is that the ferment of youth has had an unsettling effect on Communist youth organizations, locally, nationally and internationally. The Soviet Komsomol has been hard put to keep its members in line, and has itself been criticized by the regime for maintaining insufficient discipline and control. The traditional Hungarian Communist youth organization has vanished and been replaced by a new "official" one which is shunned and remains pitifully small. The Polish organization has been overturned, then eliminated, by its own members, and the entire youth movement has been disrupted. Similar, if less drastic, changes have occurred in the other satellites. The Communist Chinese youth league has been disturbed by recent developments. In the Free World there has been sharp discord in the youth fronts. The French Communists are attempting to tighten their hold on their youth by converting the front organization into a frankly Communist body. The WFDY and the IUS have suffered several acrimonious controversies and the latter, at least, has been jolted by a number of disaffiliations. All this points to heightened vulnerabilities within the International Communist youth movement.

Looking beyond the 1957 Moscow rally, the WFDY and the IUS have prepared extensive programs for a series of

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international,<sup>30</sup> regional, national, and local youth and student activities, each designed to serve World Communism's tactical purposes. To a greater extent than ever before, tensions and antagonisms are likely to be inherent in such activities. The scope, setting and timing of each Communist-sponsored event should be examined closely to provide the bases for countermeasures which could turn it to the advantage of the Free World.

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<sup>30</sup> The next important international meeting of the WFDY - its Congress - will follow the Festival by about two weeks and will be held in Kiev, USSR.

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ANNEX I

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST YOUTH  
ORGANIZATIONS

A. Before and During World War I: The Socialist Youth  
International

Between 1889 and 1914, all Marxist parties were affiliated with the Second Socialist International, despite the fundamental ideological and tactical differences which separated the radical left-wing, led by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, from the Marxist Center, represented by Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding and Otto Bauer, and from the right-wing revisionists like Eduard Bernstein or Jean Jaures. The attitude of the Socialist parties towards war and militarism was decisive for the split after the outbreak of World War I. The right wing supported the war effort in every belligerent country, the center opposed it, but only with legal means, while the left wing aimed at turning the "imperialist" war into civil war ("revolutionary defeatism").

Youth, already subject to military conscription in peacetime, was even more vitally interested in the question of war than the older age groups. Consequently, the efforts of the left-wing elements to expand their influence in the international socialist movement were focused upon the Socialist Youth Organizations. At the first International Conference of Socialist Youth Organizations, held on 24-26 August 1907, in Stuttgart, Karl Liebknecht, prominent left-winger and later founder of the Communist Party of Germany, was elected chairman and delivered the key-note address, "The Struggle against Militarism" (for which the Imperial German Government sentenced him to 18 months in prison). The Conference consisted of only 20 delegates from 13 countries, who represented not more than a few tens of thousands of youthful socialists - but it offered the left-wing in the international socialist movement a convenient and promising point of departure.

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The Berne Conference, 1915

After the outbreak of the war in 1914, the secretariat of the International Federation of Socialist Youth Organizations was virtually paralyzed, since it was located in Vienna, i. e. in a belligerent country. This gave the left wingers the opportunity to call an international youth conference of their own in neutral Switzerland; on 4 - 6 April 1915, 16 delegates from 10 countries representing 33,800 members, convened in Berne. The conference adopted a resolution on "the war and the tasks of the socialist youth organizations", which marked a sharp break with the official policies of the majority socialist parties:

"This war is the result of the imperialist policy of the ruling classes of all capitalist countries. Even where the ruling classes and their governments describe it as a defensive war, it is the consequence of this policy which is hostile to the people and inseparable from capitalism. . .

"The international socialist youth conference demands an immediate end of the war. It welcomes the attempts of party groups in belligerent countries to resume the class struggle and to impose peace upon the ruling classes. It declares it to be the duty of the youth comrades in the belligerent countries to support energetically this spreading movement for peace. . .

"The conference emphasizes the need to enlighten the young men and women workers in all countries about the causes and the character of war and militarism as inevitable features of the capitalist order, to educate them in the spirit of international class struggle and to rally them in increasing numbers to the banner of revolutionary socialism."

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from: Wilhelm Münzenberg, Die Sozialistische Jugendinternationale, (Berlin, 1919).

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The conference elected Wilhelm Münzenberg, who represented the Socialist Youth League of Switzerland, as Executive Secretary and put him in charge of a "provisional international secretariat" in Zurich. It decided to publish an international magazine, YOUTH INTERNATIONAL, to create a "Liebknecht Fund" to assist victims of the fight against militarism, to hold an annual "international day of youth" and to organize socialist children's groups (later known as "pioneers"). The secretariat in Zurich operated overtly in neutral Switzerland, but its communications with socialist youth groups in belligerent countries, especially the distribution of the magazine YOUTH INTERNATIONAL, were carried out mainly by clandestine means.

Münzenberg, a dynamic leader and gifted organizer, patterned the political line of his work more and more closely after the "Zimmerwald Left", led by Lenin. He printed articles by Lenin, Trotsky, Karl Radek, Liebknecht and other communist leaders in the 10 issues of the YOUTH INTERNATIONAL which were distributed in 25,000-30,000 copies across closed borders. Lenin, then an exile in Switzerland, immediately realized the potential value of Münzenberg's efforts and welcomed in his own newspaper the publication of the YOUTH INTERNATIONAL and the course followed by its organization:

"The majority of the official Social-Democratic Parties of Europe are now advocating the meanest and vilest form of social chauvinism and opportunism. . . In the circumstances thus prevailing in Europe, on the League of Socialist Youth Organizations falls the tremendous, grateful but difficult task of fighting for revolutionary internationalism and for true socialism and against the prevailing opportunism, which has deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The YOUTH INTERNATIONAL has published a number of good articles in defense of revolutionary internationalism, and the whole publication is permeated with a fine spirit of intense hatred for the betrayers of socialism who 'defend the fatherland' in the present war, and with an earnest desire to purge the international labor movement of the corroding influence of chauvinism and opportunism. . .

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" . . . we must be decidedly in favor of the organizational independence of the youth league, not only because the opportunists fear this independence but because of the very nature of the case; for unless they have complete independence the youth will be unable either to train good socialists from their midst, or to prepare themselves to lead socialism forward. We stand for complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but also for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors. We must not flatter the youth. "<sup>2</sup>

Lenin here emphasizes the independence of youth organizations, an independence which he advocated as long as it made itself felt against the majority of Social Democratic Party leaders. A few years later, the Communist parties did not grant their youth organizations any degree of autonomy, even in matters of organizational detail, let alone in policy.

In the first years of the war, the Socialist Youth International endeavored to maintain contacts with all socialist youth groups which opposed the war, including groups which remained Social Democratic in character, such as the socialist youth organizations in Austria and in the neutral Scandinavian countries. But in the final phases of the war, especially under the impact of the Russian revolution, Münzenberg and his associates took an increasingly outspoken stand in favor of the radical left wing, the Bolsheviki, and turned sharply against all shades of democratic socialism.

This turn toward the extreme left was documented at the meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist Youth International, held in neutral Stockholm on 19 and 20 August, 1917. The political resolution adopted there stated in part:

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<sup>2</sup>December 1916, in Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata, #2. Reprinted in: V.I. Lenin, The Young Generation, Little Lenin Library, Volume 26. (New York, 1940).

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"The historical events in Russia are brilliant proof for the correctness of the methods of socialist class struggle which we have always propagated. The socialist youth welcomes therefore wholeheartedly and fraternally the socialist revolutionaries of Russia and celebrates in their victory the victory of the revolutionary ideas. But just as the Russian revolution can achieve full socialist victory only in open fight against the bourgeois government and against the Social Patriots, revolutionary tactics in all other countries can also win only in fighting Social Patriotism uncompromisingly. It must be therefore the continuing task of the socialist youth to rejuvenate the general labor movement and to rekindle the flame of revolutionary struggle . . . The socialist youth will help to incite the masses of socialist workers to serious revolutionary activities in order to bring about lasting peace soon and to realize Socialism."<sup>3</sup>

B. BETWEEN WORLD WARS I AND II: THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Founding Congress, 1919

As the logical conclusion of the war-time developments outlined above, M nzenberg, after the end of World War I, led the Socialist Youth International straight into the communist camp. The Comintern had been founded in Moscow in March, 1919, and the Socialist Youth International was transformed into the Young Communist International (YCI) at a congress held in Berlin in November, 1919. Socialist and communist youth organizations from 14 countries, totaling 250,000 members, were represented - among which the Russian Komsomol, with 100,000 members, was by far the largest and most important. M nzenberg was the main speaker.

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<sup>3</sup> Translated from: Wilhelm M nzenberg, Die Dritte Front. Aufzeichnungen aus 15 Jahren proletarischer Jugendbewegung. (Berlin, 1930).

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### The Issue of Autonomy

The Berlin Congress adopted a political program which, although it followed unconditionally the communist party line, claimed for youth the role of "revolutionary vanguard" and for its organizations a high degree of autonomy - two claims which challenged the absolute hegemony of the Communist Party and had therefore to be abandoned shortly thereafter. The most significant passages of this 1919 program of the YCI read:

"3. The founding of separate proletarian youth organizations is necessitated by (i) the situation of youth in economic life and in society which forces it to fight for the defense of its own interests, (ii) the psychological peculiarities of youth, (iii) the necessity of special methods for its socialist and revolutionary education.

"4. The working youth is the most active and most revolutionary part of the proletariat. The most important task of the communist youth organization is at present untiring political agitation among the broad masses of the workers, the organizing of political activities, the direct fight for communism, the participation in overthrowing capitalist rule and the education of youth to be builders of communist society.

"5. The communist youth organizations conduct an energetic struggle against all bourgeois parties, as well as against the right-wing Socialists, the avowed lackeys of the bourgeoisie, and against the socialist Center who support capitalist society by their vacillating attitudes. . . In their political fight, the youth organizations endorse the program of the political party or fraction in their countries which is affiliated with the Third International, or the program of the Third International. Organizational relations with the party are determined by two basic principles: (i) autonomy of youth, (ii) close contact and mutual support."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Translated from: Wilhelm Muenzenberg, Die Dritte Front.

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Lenin's View of Leading Role of Youth

Lenin, addressing the Komsomol Congress in 1920, summed up and re-emphasized the importance of the young Communist league as the "shock group" in building Soviet society. He said:

"We can build communism only from the sum of knowledge, organizations and institutions, only with the stock of human forces and means that were bequeathed to us by the old society. Only by radically recasting the teaching, organization and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the results of the efforts of the younger generation will be the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society, i.e. a communist society.

"You must be the foremost among the millions of builders of communist society, which all young men and young women should be . . . The task of the Youth League is to organize its practical activities in such a way that, by learning, organizing, uniting and fighting, its members train themselves and all who look to it as a leader, train them to be Communists.

"The Young Communist League should be a shock group, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise. The character of the League should be such that any worker, although he may not understand its doctrines, although he may not immediately believe them, nevertheless should see from the practical work and activity of its members that they are really the people who are showing him the right road."<sup>5</sup>

Stalin's Doctrinal Changes, 1919-1929

Stalin did not grant the Communist youth the autonomy which Lenin had promised, nor did the YCI's concept of youth as "foremost among the builders of communist society" fit into his

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<sup>5</sup> Lenin, Sbornik Sotsialista.

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scheme of total party control. On 29 October 1925, for instance, he stated in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA:

"Formally speaking, the Young Communist League is a non-Party organization. But it is at the same time a communist organization. This means that the Young Communist League, while it is formally a non-Party organization of workers and peasants, must at the same time work under the guidance of the Party. The task is to ensure the guidance of the party in all the work of the Young Communist League. The Young Communist Leaguer must remember that without such guidance the Young Communist League will be unable to perform its fundamental task, namely, to educate the worker and peasant youth in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of communism."<sup>6</sup>

The actual subordination of the Communist Youth Leagues proceeded quickly, but the program of the YCI - which in its Berlin (1919) version was quite at odds with Stalin's concept - was completely rewritten only at its fifth congress, held in Moscow in 1929. The appeal with which the Executive Committee of the YCI prefaced the new program indicates clearly the initial difficulties which had to be overcome before all communist youth organizations had completely accepted the commanding role of the Communist parties. This appeal reads in part:

"... There have been considerable changes in our conception of the role of the Young Communist League. In the Berlin program of the YCI (1919), the role ascribed to the youth is that of being the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, and the relations between the Young Communist League and the Communist Party were characterized as that of two equal independent and amicable organizations. . .

"These principles of the Berlin program fully expressed the actual state of affairs in the Communist

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted in: J. Stalin, The Tasks of the Youth. (New York, 1940).

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movement of that time. The Young Communist organizations in many, if not in most countries, really played the role of a vanguard, the role of pioneers in the Communist movement. They organized the Communist parties and from their ranks came the first communist groups. . .

" . . . But now that the movement has developed all over the world, now that it has matured' and given rise to Communist parties, the true leaders of the revolutionary struggle, the relations between the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties, and consequently the role and position of the Young Communist League in the system of revolutionary organizations, could not but go through a thorough revision.

"The Second Congress of the YCI adopted, after a long struggle at the congress, which was later carried on in the Leagues, the principle of the political subordination of Young Communist Leagues to the Communist Parties. At that time (1921) such a decision appeared to be absolutely necessary, although it met with great resistance from the then leaders of the Young Communist organizations who were still completely swayed by their 'vanguard' ideology. But practice has shown that the formulation of the Second Congress was inadequate. Actually the relations between the Young Communist Leagues and Communist Parties became much closer than the formula of 'political subordination' implied, the Communist Parties generally became the leaders of the Young Communist Leagues.

"The responsibility of the Party for the leadership of the Young Communist League does not interfere with the organizational independence of the Leagues. They have their own autonomous organizations, elected bodies, wide democracy, and their own internal questions. This is absolutely essential for a maximum development of initiative and Communist training of the League members."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Programme of the Young Communist International, Young Communist League of America, (New York, 1929).

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From "Revolutionary Vanguard" to "Preparatory School"

The YCI program of 1929 defines that organization as "a section of the Communist International (CI) working upon the basis of the program and the statutes of the CI". It recognizes that the Communist Party, "the leader of the working class, needs a reserve, which would assure a new cadre of young forces for its ranks and which would serve as a preparatory school, training the young generation of workers for the Communist Party".

Having thus reduced the role of Communist youth organizations from that of a "revolutionary vanguard" to that of a "preparatory school", the program further justifies the necessity of such organizations by referring to the situation of young workers under capitalism and to the psychological peculiarities of youth, paraphrasing the point in the 1919 program which is quoted above. The program quotes Lenin to the effect that the most general task of the YCL is "to study communism" and specifies that this study -

"... consists in the organized participation of the YCL in the general class struggle of the proletariat and, within the limits of this struggle, in the advocacy of and struggle for the special demands and interests of the working youth, above all, against militarism and imperialist wars, and questions concerning the economic demands of the working youth."

Although this program is international in character, it contains very specific rules concerning the forms and methods of organization to be followed by the Young Communist Leagues in every country:

"As an organization of Communist education and as a preparatory school for the Party, the YCL is a much broader organization than the CP . . . The YCL should therefore strive to exceed the CP in numerical strength . . . Although the YCL is a mass organization, this does

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not eliminate the usefulness of non-party mass organizations of the working youth for special tasks. These auxiliary organizations are a sort of 'transmission belt' which link up the YCL more closely with the masses . .

"The organizational structure of Communist Youth organizations corresponds with their revolutionary role and tasks in the class struggle . . . The basis of the YCL is the factory group which coordinates League members according to their place of employment. YCL members who cannot be organized in factory groups because of the nature of their work, are organized in street groups. Street groups are also basic units of the League organizations, but the center of gravity and the main role is played by the factory groups.<sup>8</sup>

"In order to extend a guiding influence to the youth in the mass organizations of adult and young workers (trade unions, sport leagues, various auxiliary organizations, etc.), the YCL organizes its members in these organizations into YCL fractions. The fractions are the mouthpiece and most important instrument of the YCL in these organizations . . . The YCL does not limit its activity to the framework of 'legality' ordained by the bourgeoisie. In its struggle against capitalism, the YCL is continually compelled to combine its open legal activity with illegal and semi-legal work and therefore to overstep the limits laid down for it by bourgeois legality.

"The YCL realizes that it is surrounded by enemies on all sides and that it must expect at any moment to be driven into illegality by the bourgeoisie. It therefore prepares itself technically and politically for such an eventuality and creates for itself - in legal conditions, too - an organized apparatus through which it will be able to continue its work in case of enforced illegality. But even in a state of illegality the YCL must remain a

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<sup>8</sup> Detailed directives for the work of factory groups (cells) of Communist Youth Organizations were given in Leitfaden für die Betriebszellenarbeit, Herausgegeben vom Exekutivkomitee der Kommunistischen Jugendinternationale. (Guide for Factory Cell Work. Issued by the Executive Committee of the YCI). (Berlin, 1932).

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mass organization, i. e. it must not lose contact with and influence over the masses. For this purpose it creates various legal organizations (including political ones) of the working youth. But the YCL looks upon these organizations only as legal forms of work for the illegal YCL. The main thing is to ensure the leadership and development of the YCL itself. Even the fiercest capitalist terror, the dissolution of all legal youth organizations, cannot prevent the YCL itself continuing to be active among the masses and working untiringly for its aims. "

Additional chapters of the program deal with the attitudes of the YCL toward war and its anti-militarist activities, its struggle for the economic demands of young workers, its special tasks among the rural working youth, its work under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat (i. e. in the Soviet Union), activities of the YCI in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the training of working-class children ("Red Pioneers") and the sports activities of the YCL. A concluding chapter deals with the opponents of the YCL, notably with fascist, bourgeois, and social democratic youth organizations.

#### The Scope of Young Communist International Activities

The official report, prepared by the YCI for its Fifth World Congress (which adopted the program discussed above), gives a cross section of the multitudinous activities in which the Communist youth organizations engaged between World Wars I and II, under the leadership of the YCI.<sup>9</sup>

Total membership of the YCI rose from 1, 294, 000 in 1925 to 2, 157, 000 in 1928. However, out of the latter total, 2, 030, 000 were members of the Russian Komsomol, 25, 000 of the YCL in

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<sup>9</sup> The Young Communist International between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, 1924-1928. Communist Party of Great Britain. (London, 1928). 250 p.

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the Communist areas of China, and only 102, 000 in the entire capitalist world. The bulk of these 102, 000 belonged to overt YCLs in the following countries:

Germany	20, 000
France	10, 500
Sweden	14, 500
Czechoslovakia	12, 800
Norway	3, 000
North America	2, 500
Greece	2, 000

Legal YCLs were reported to exist in 18 other countries and illegal organizations in 17 countries, including China, Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Spain, Japan, Korea, Iran and Turkey. The total membership of these 17 illegal YCLs was said to be 29, 700 (in 1928).

The total number of factory groups in all affiliated YCLs (excluding the Soviet Union and China) had reached 1, 900 in 1926, but had decreased to a mere 650 in 1928, despite the rule, quoted above, that factory groups were to be the basic form of organization everywhere. The report estimates that only 7% of the membership in Germany, 8% in France, 11% in Czechoslovakia, but 27% in Greece belonged to factory groups. Conversely, it asserted that the percentage in the illegal YCLs was much higher: for instance, 20 - 30% in Italy, 25 - 30% in Poland.

In addition to the above listed membership, the YCI counted front organizations and children's groups among its assets. The fronts reported a total membership of 67, 000 in 9 countries; the most important was the "Red Youth Front" in Germany with 21, 000 and the "Korean Student League" with 23, 000 members. Communist children's groups existed in 24 countries, totaling 1, 969, 000 members, but only 32, 600 of them were in capitalist countries.

Even though these membership figures outside Russia were wholly unimpressive, the YCI and its affiliates engaged feverishly in a wide variety of subversive political activities.

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Peace propaganda and anti-militarist as well as anti-colonialist subversion were already at that time priority assignments. In March 1927, for instance, the YCI launched an international campaign against war and against intervention in China and the Soviet Union under the following slogans:

"Hands off China, Down with Intervention,  
Immediate Recalling of all Troops and Battleships,  
Against Imperialist Preparation for War against the  
Soviet Union, Fraternization with the Oppressed  
Chinese Nation, Unity of the Soldiers and Workers  
in the Struggle for Chinese Freedom, Fraternization  
of the Soldiers of the Armies of Intervention with the  
Chinese Soldiers of Freedom, Against the Imperialist  
Policy of the U. S. A. in South America."

The report noted, however, that only the YCLs in England, France and Italy had actively participated in this campaign.

The next priority on the YCL list was the fight against "white terror and Fascism" which during those years meant primarily the regimes of Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia. The YCI also participated in the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti and in the 15 July 1927 riots in Vienna; it likewise tried to play a role in connection with the British general strike of 1926.

Periodical (usually annual) commemorations of revolutionary events were developed into a regular calendar. These included the International Day of Youth in September (commemorating the founding conference of the Socialist Youth International in Stuttgart, 1907, the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg week in January, the anniversary of the Paris Commune [18 March 1871], the anniversary of the Bolshevik October Revolution, and the anniversary of the Red Army.)

#### The End of the YCI

The YCI had rendered vitally important services to the International Communist cause, on the national as well as on the international level. In several countries it had furnished

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the first core for the build-up of Communist Parties during the formative years of the Comintern after World War I. Later, it had become the reservoir from which the future cadres of Communist militants were recruited, indoctrinated and prepared for their intended tasks. But the YCI had never developed into a real mass movement outside the Soviet Union and it had never gained access to even a substantial minority of the millions of working youths or students in the free world.

In the last years before World War II the YCI began to lose what few assets it had outside Russia. Hitler's rise to power meant the end of the German YCL - which had been the strongest section of the YCI in the capitalist world. The YCLs in such countries as Austria, Czechoslovakia and Greece were also outlawed. With the outbreak of World War II in September, 1939, the YCL in France, another stronghold of the YCI, was driven underground.

It was therefore hardly a loss for the International Communist movement when the YCI was dissolved in 1943 together with the Comintern of which it had formed a section. The YCI was revived after the war in an entirely different form, this time as a true mass, or front organization. It not only resumed the essential role of the YCI as a cadre school for the International Communist movement, but also developed into a significant instrument of mass propaganda and indoctrination on behalf of the combined international aims of the Communist parties of the world and of the Soviet Union, and later those of Communist China.

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C. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II: WORLD  
FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH AND  
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

At the end of World War II, the International Communist movement replaced the auxiliary organizations of the inter-war period, such as the Young Communist International, the Profintern (International of Red Trade Unions) and others, with international front organizations which were far less blatantly Communist in appearance and were thereby able to attract - or at least to mislead - sizeable numbers of unwitting non-Communists. This far-reaching change in the character of the International Communist organizations not only gave them much greater maneuverability and flexibility in their propaganda, but also corresponded to the general trend of camouflaging more thoroughly the true fifth-column functions of these groups.

Front Organizations as Communist Tactical Weapons

Martin Ebon describes this metamorphosis<sup>10</sup> with reference to the WFDY, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the All-Slav Congress:

"The four new internationals represent a new departure in Communist strategy. Before 1943 there were a number of specialized Communist Internationals in the fields of labor, youth, minorities, etc. But these organizations were clearly labeled Communist; there was no question of taking other left-wing groups into them. . . . With the dawn of the 'united front' era, Stalin killed off most of these agencies in the interest of cooperation between Communists and other left-wingers. Now the specialized internationals have been resurrected. But a new twist has been added: their aims, their compositions

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<sup>10</sup>The New Communist Internationals, "The American Mercury (June 1948) p. 721.

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and their origins have been carefully disguised... The idea of the 'front' organization, in which Communists have the real power while non-Communist liberals contribute the money and prestige, has been placed on a world-wide basis."

The Communist technique of penetrating and taking over youth and other front organizations has been described in detail by Philip Selznick:

"... we may now proceed to consider the role of Communist peripheral organizations as they reflect the ubiquitous striving for unity. The older peripheral groups were simply a means of establishing organizational control over individuals who were close to the party ideologically. But now they were conceived of as weapons which would permit the party to gain organizational access to and control over broader sectors of the population having no ideological commitment to Communism or even to Marxism.

"The use of the term 'front' to characterize Communist peripheral groups, and the relation of the latter to united-front tactics, may be the source of some terminological confusion. The word 'front' in the phrase 'united front' refers, characteristically, to the military context, in the sense of an alignment against an enemy formation. It is in this sense that the word is used by the Communists themselves. On the other hand, the phrase 'front organization' is not a Communist one, and is derived from the architectural idea of a facade. The peripheral organization is a 'front' to the extent that it functions as a cover behind which the political activities of the party are carried on.

"Although deception is by definition involved in the use of 'front' organizations, it was not always a dominant aspect of united-front tactics. On the

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contrary, it was deemed essential that the party openly present its banner and its leaders, for the early history of Communism, after the founding of the International, was one of direct appeals to rally the masses behind its banner. In 1935, however, this orientation underwent a basic change. It was a change which is generally regarded as a shift in political line, i.e., the relaxation of aggression against western democracy. In fact, however, the shift represented something additional and even more fundamental: the historic culmination of the logic of Leninism, wherein deception became recognized as communism's most useful and characteristic tool. Bolshevism was now to wrap itself in any ideological banner, or to infest as a parasite any expedient host, which would yield increments of power to the party, even though this power could not be exercised in its own name. Thus after the Seventh Congress the united front became essentially deceptive; the party retreated from open participation, relying more and more on the covert maneuverability of its cadres and on the use of peripheral organizations as shields for this secret penetration and control. Hence the old 'open' peripheral organizations, when used to implement the new unity tactics, inevitably became 'fronts'.<sup>11</sup>

However careful the Communists are to disguise their manipulation of the WFDY, the IUS and other international fronts in the eyes of the general public, they do not hesitate, when addressing their own inner circles, to emphasize their vital significance for the Communist cause. This is authoritatively illustrated, for instance, by an article in the Cominform journal, For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy:

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<sup>11</sup> Philip Selznick, The Organizational Weapon (McGraw-Hill, 1952). pp. 145-146.

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"The role of the mass organizations of working people in the capitalist countries has also grown in the struggle for the vital interests of the peoples, for peace, bread and freedom. In France, Italy, and other capitalist countries, mass organizations constitute a powerful organized force. The right of these organizations of the working people and their influence increase immeasurably due to the creation of international amalgamation. The World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Democratic Women, the International Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Students Union, the International Co-operative Alliance and many other international bodies, unite millions of working people of all countries of the world. . . " (25 May 1951).

#### The Founding of WFDY

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) was founded at an international conference held from 31 October to 9 November 1945, in London. At the outset, it took on a respectable aspect. In the West, the desire to remain on close, friendly terms with the war-time Communist allies was still strong. Many non-Communists accepted invitations, and even the President of the United States sent a message of welcome to the conference. According to the report rendered by the U.S. delegation, 62 countries were represented by 437 delegates and 148 observers, allegedly speaking for "over 40 million young people". Only 3.5% of the delegates were openly identified as representing Communist youth organizations; 2.5% came from socialist youth groups, 6% from trade unions, while 2.5% came from the YMCA and the YWCA, 3.5% from Scouting groups, 4.5% from Protestant and 3.5% from Catholic youth groups, etc.

The resolutions adopted by the London Conference were couched in generalities so sweeping that the Communist purpose behind them remained hidden even to attentive observers. Thus, in the principal political resolution:

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"This Conference calls upon all democratic youth organizations to assist in the establishment of a just and lasting peace; to support the claims of young people to the necessary conditions for spiritual, cultural and physical development, and to promote friendship and respect among nations. .

"Young people want the military victories of the war years to lead to lasting peace and security. They believe that an authoritative international organization, founded upon joint action of the Great Powers, is capable of maintaining peace. They support fully the Charter of World Organization, drafted at San Francisco, support the establishment of the United Nations Organization as an effective, international political instrument for the maintenance of peace and for raising the social and economic standards of all people . . . "

The Constitution of WFDY, adopted in London, is equally broad, universal and lofty in expression. In Section III, it defines the aims of the organization as follows:

"(a) To strive for close international understanding and cooperation amongst the youth in the fields of economic, political, educational, cultural, and social activity, with respect for diversity of ideas and national conditions; to make the maximum contribution to the elimination of fascism in all its forms; to render active assistance to the governments in ensuring peace and security in bringing up the rising generation in the spirit of democracy, and in raising the standard of life of the young generation.

"(b) To work for the active participation of youth in economic, political, social and cultural life, for the removal of all restrictions and qualifications connected with sex, method of education, domicile, property, or social status, religion, political belief, color or race; to ensure for the democratic youth,

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freedom of speech, press, religious belief, assembly and demonstration, and to assist the foundation of democratic youth organizations where these do not exist.

"(c) To work for good conditions of education, labor and leisure, and for the development of cultural, educational and sports activities amongst all youth.

"(d) To do all in its power, in the light of the present lack of unified national youth committees, to bring about the free and voluntary cooperation and association of youth organizations on a national level.

"(e) To do all in its power to educate the younger generation in the ideas and responsibilities of world citizenship.

"(f) To represent the interests of youth in international affairs and organizations and wherever possible to bring to the notice of such organizations questions affecting the interests of youth. To call the attention of world public opinion to the urgent needs of youth. To maintain the closest possible contact with all other organizations having similar aims, and seek the support of people prominent in public life."

An analysis of the above "aims" in the light of ten years of WFDY activities shows, from the vantage point of hindsight, that these resounding generalizations were drafted not merely to be acceptable to the many unwitting delegates gathered in London, but primarily to provide a broad foundation for subsequent Communist manipulation. For this purpose, "elimination of fascism" means really subordination to Moscow's changing policy objectives. The Communists identified as fascist not only the regimes of Spain and Argentina, but also, at various times, those of the U.S., of Western Germany, or even Yugoslavia. The "spirit of democracy", in this context, is - especially within the Soviet orbit - "people's democracy", i.e. Communist dictatorship.

Paragraph (b) of the "aims" demands freedom of speech, press, religious belief, assembly and demonstration "for the

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democratic youth". According to Communist semantics, however, only Communists and their collaborators are real "democrats". Everybody else, however firm his democratic convictions and practices (in the Free World sense), is to be considered a fascist or at least a "bourgeois" or a "reactionary" and therefore not only is not entitled to free speech, press, assembly, but must be "eliminated", as noted in paragraph (a).

Paragraph (d) pledges the WFDY "to bring about the free and voluntary cooperation and association of youth organizations on a national level". Just as the Communist parties strive for political monopoly, suppressing all other parties, the Communist youth organizations strive for their own monopoly. What they mean by "free and voluntary cooperation" is shown conclusively in the satellite countries; not only political youth groups of all colors, but also church youth, boy scouts, sports groups and any other associations rallying young people, have been forced into a merger with the "state youth monopoly", an affiliate of the WFDY.<sup>12</sup>

"To represent the interests of youth in international affairs and organizations" is proclaimed by WFDY in paragraph (f) as one of its aims. In pursuit of this, it has sought to achieve the status of a consultative organization with the United Nations and other international bodies - with indifferent results. In the same paragraph "the closest possible contact with all other organizations having similar aims" is demanded. This has to some extent been realized, by collaboration with the other international fronts, especially with the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. The WFDY has also

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<sup>12</sup> Particularly significant is the development of the "Free German Youth" organization in the Soviet Zone of Germany whose resemblance to the equally monopolistic and totalitarian Hitler Youth is striking. See Gerd Friedrich, Die Freie Deutsche Jugend: Stoss-trupp des Kommunismus in Deutschland. Cologne, 1950, (anti-Communist); Deutschlands Junge Garde: 50 Jahre Arbeiterjugendbewegung, herausgegeben vom Zentralrat der Freien Deutschen Jugend, Berlin, 1954, (Communist).

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tried persistently to establish "united fronts" with non-Communist youth organizations, and is intensifying the effort in connection with the forthcoming Moscow Festival.

Communist Direction and Control of the First Youth Festival

The remarkable effort made at the London conference to give WFDY a non-partisan cloak of respectability subsided shortly thereafter into the routine formula of "rallying all youth regardless of political opinions". This was partly owing to the rapid deterioration of East-West relations, leading to the outbreak of the "Cold War", but partly also to the apparently inevitable trend in front organizations to reveal more and more of their true character, the longer they are in operation.

Communist direction revealed itself as early as the First World Youth Festival, held in July-August 1947 in Prague. Martin Ebon has described American experience at this Festival:

"A large American delegation participated in the Festival. A few days after they arrived in the Czech capital, eight of the Americans realized that they had been roped into a Communist-run affair. They prepared a protest which they tried to distribute during the Festival's closing sessions, but they were stopped by a Czech army officer. When the eight young men and women returned to the United States they reported, among other things, that the Soviet exhibit at the Festival had dramatized the heroic progress of Soviet youth under Communism; while the American exhibit was concerned with such matters as lynchings, race prejudice and the prospect of depression.

"The minority report of these eight Americans stated that 'the present leadership of the sponsoring organizations, the WFDY, is predominantly Communist'. A sophisticated group might have made this discovery without going to Prague; the WFDY had been Communist-controlled from the day of its founding in November 1945.

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It is true, however, that the organization had camouflaged this fact for some time . . . As soon as the executive committee of the WFDY began to issue pronouncements on the problems of the world, however, it became apparent where the control of the group lay. . . " <sup>13</sup>

Complete Communist control of the Prague rally is evident from reports issued by the WFDY affiliate, notably a report covering both the Festival and the ensuing WFDY Council meeting from which the following statements are quoted:

[Summarizing the progress report of the WFDY Secretariat:] "Successful campaigns were conducted against Franco's terrorism in Spain, for the defense of democratic rights in Greece, for the support of the liberation struggle of the young republics in Vietnam and Indonesia and thereby against imperialism.

[From the discussions in the Council meeting:] "The representative of millions of young Chinese reported on the fight of Chinese youth which sacrifices itself against foreign intervention. The youth of China is being killed with American war material. Supported by this material and by instructors, two million mercenaries of Chiang Kai-shek have attacked the free territory of China in 1946. . . It would be good for the young Americans to fight against the shipment of war materials and against the American intervention in China, because the production of war material can only damage the welfare of American youth and increases the danger that they must bleed once more on battle fields.

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<sup>13</sup>Ebon, op. cit. p. 721.

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[The representative of Greece stated:] 'We can not start the reconstruction of our country since the arms of England and of America prevent us from doing so . . . The civil war, maintained by England and America ruins our country . . . '

[From the resolution, unanimously adopted by the WFDY Council:] "The Council believes' that new efforts have been made by the imperialist circles of certain countries during the past year to fight against the unity of those nations which contributed most to victory in the war. The civil war in China was continued and enlarged as a result of American intervention. The fascist governments in Spain and Greece were supported by Washington and London. The imperialist circles of England and France have provoked wars in Indonesia and Vietnam . . . "

[Summarizing the action program adopted by the Council:] "1) To unmask the enemies of peace and democracy with doubled intensity so that the largest part of youth may understand and actively support the fight for peace. 2) To support actively the fight of youth against fascism and imperialism and to defend suppressed democratic youth organizations by large-scale solidarity campaigns. 3) To take measures to strengthen the unity of youth and to obtain intensified cooperation with international youth organizations which are active in the same sense, like the Christian youth organizations in Geneva. 4) To defend the vital interests of youth by implementing carefully the decisions included in the resolution on the demands of working youth, the fight for the right to work, for a worthy standard of living, for equal wages for equal work, for ban against child labor, for paid vacations, for vocational training during working hours . . . and for the right to join organizations."

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<sup>14</sup> Translated from: Erich Honecker, Die Jugend der Welt für Frieden, Freiheit, Fortschritt. Die Prager Tagung des Weltbundes der Demokratischen Jugend. (Berlin, 1947).

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The Party Line at the WFDY 1949 Congress

How faithfully WFDY followed the International Communist party line was also shown very explicitly at its Congress held in Budapest, in September 1949. The Congress issued a "Manifesto to the Young People of all Countries" in which the following immediate tasks were formulated:

"Condemnation of the war-like preparations of big capitalists, headed by the American imperialists.

"Attacks on the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty.

"Allegations of the violation of democratic freedom in all countries oppressed by the imperialists, including the United States.

"A call to youth organizations to render utmost support to the young democrats of India, Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and other colonial and dependent countries in the struggle for peace and the independence of their peoples.

"An appeal to youth to support the invincible army of peace partisans, headed by the mighty Soviet Union which made a decisive contribution to the defeat of Fascism.

"A call for unity of international youth within the WFDY and a condemnation of the forces seeking to split this unity."<sup>15</sup>

One of the most striking instances of the WFDY's obedient submission to the Moscow party line is its treatment of the Yugoslav youth organization which had been a charter member of WFDY since 1945, but was expelled and furiously attacked after the Yugoslav Party had been ousted from the Cominform in 1948. In 1955, after Khrushchev and Bulganin had made their pilgrimage to Belgrade and had begun the process of restoring friendly

<sup>15</sup>

Facts about International Communist Front Organizations,  
Revised edition, (March 1955) p. 21.

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relations with Tito's government and party, WFDY had to reverse itself once more. The WFDY Executive Committee meeting, held in Warsaw, 27-28 July 1955, adopted the following resolution on Yugoslavia (note the characteristically ambiguous language, carefully avoiding "partisan" words like "Communist"):

" The Executive Committee has examined the questions of relations between the WFDY and the Yugoslav People's Youth. The incorrect attitude of the WFDY to the Yugoslav People's Youth and the break in relations between that organization and the WFDY is not in the interests of the unity of the democratic youth movement. The Executive Committee has decided to annul the resolution on the breaking of relations with the leaders of the Yugoslav People's Youth passed by the Executive Committee at the session in Bucharest in January 1950, as an erroneous resolution incompatible with the activity of the WFDY, a Federation whose aim is to promote unity, cooperation and friendship among youth and youth organizations in all countries. The Executive Committee sincerely desires the restoration of friendly relations and the broadest cooperation between the WFDY and the Yugoslav People's Youth, in the name of unity of youth, of friendship and of world peace. "

At the time of this writing, however, the Yugoslav youth organization has not yet rejoined WFDY nor, for that matter, has any other Yugoslav organization returned to membership in a Communist international front.

#### The 1955 Warsaw Festival

Thousands of young people from all over the world congregated in Warsaw between 31 July and 15 August 1955 for the Fifth World Youth Festival. We shall describe the Warsaw

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Festival in some detail, since it offers some fairly specific indications as to what to expect in Moscow in July of 1957.

The Cominform journal, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!" (5 August 1955) welcomed the Festival with words of highest praise, connecting it with the policy of the Geneva Summit Conference - a theme repeatedly emphasized in Warsaw:

"The opening of the Festival coincided with the beginning of a new stage in international relations. The Geneva Four-Power Conference was a first step in establishing confidence among states, regardless of their political and social systems, on the basis of peaceful co-existence. The successful outcome of the conference convinces the youth that the 'cold war' can and must be ended. The Warsaw Festival is another proof of the possibility of achieving lasting and peaceful cooperation among peoples . . .

"The influence of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which consistently fights for the rights of youth, is growing year by year . . . The Federation and its organizations are now co-operating on an ever greater scale with other international and national youth organizations . . . No international youth gathering has ever had such a widely representative character as the Warsaw Festival . . .

"Those participating in the Festival are people of various races and nationalities, different trades and diverse political, social and religious convictions and views. Today you can meet in the streets of Warsaw French Socialists and Catholics, Italian Christian Democrats and members of the Saragat party, English Labourites and Social Democrats from Western Germany. The idea of the Festival is forever winning new millions of young hearts in all continents. It is supported by all the youth organizations in Japan, Indonesia, Egypt and other countries."

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The total number of all types of participants was variously estimated at between 30,000 and 50,000. This compares with the participation in previous festivals estimated as:

1947	First World Youth Festival	Prague	? No. from , 71 countries and territories
1949	Second World Youth Festival	Budapest	10,000 from 82 countries
1951	Third World Youth Festival	Berlin	26,000 from 104 countries
1953	Fourth World Youth Festival	Bucharest	30,000 from 111 countries
1955	Fifth World Youth Festival	Warsaw	30,000 from 115 countries
1957	Sixth World Youth Festival	Moscow	30,000-35,000 expected from 120 countries ("Soviet Weekly" August 2, 1956).

Tab B on the following page represents a breakdown by country of the number of delegates who attended the Fifth World Youth Festival in Warsaw. (The term "delegate" is very loosely used; only a minority of the participants had a mandate from any youth organization).

Poland, the host country for the Warsaw Festival, claimed 2,500 delegates; 140,000 Poles were expected at the Festival, the balance of which contributed "padding" to the Bloc representation. Polish radio and press quoted specific

TAB B

Breakdown by Country of 30,000 Participants who Attended the V World Youth Festival, Warsaw, 1955.  
NOTE: These figures are approximate and incomplete for certain areas. They are compiled from official and press sources.

NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

<u>Western Europe</u>	<u>Middle East</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Latin America</u>
Finland 2,000	Egypt 404	India 350	Nigeria )	Chile 180
W. Germany 1,500*	Iraq )	Japan 51	Gold Coast )	Venezuela 26
France 1,400	Israel )		Cameroons ) 1,000	Uruguay 23
Gt. Britain 1,300	Lebanon ) 227***		Ivory Coast )	Argentina 17
Denmark 1,200	Syria )		Algeria 170	Colombia 26
Sweden 1,000	Turkey )		Tunisia 77	
Austria 1,900**			Morocco 53	
Holland 750			Sudan 41	<u>Other</u>
Belgium 500			S. Africa 34	
Switzerland 292			Senegal 15	Iceland 125
Italy 34				Australia 50
Luxembourg 20				US 32

COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Poland	2,500
E. Germany	1,500
Czechoslovakia	1,500
USSR	1,100
Rumania	800
Hungary	700
Com. China	600
Bulgaria	385
N. Korea	158
Albania	145

\* The Free German Youth (Freie Deutsche Jugend, FDJ) Communist front organization in West Germany, was banned by the German government in 1951.

\*\*Until July 1955, over 1/3 of Austria was occupied by the Soviets.

\*\*\*Bernini announced that there were 404 delegates from Egypt, whereas Polish Radio and Press listed the total 227 for the Middle East including Egypt.

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figures of national delegations to the Warsaw Festival totaling 19,401. No numbers were given for the delegations from the US, Greece, Spain, Paraguay and Guatemala, even though these countries were reported to be represented. Among the countries where WFDY affiliates have been banned, West Germany sent 1,500 delegates, Egypt 404, and South Africa 34.

In the preparatory propaganda for the Festival, Communist parties and other overt Communist groups kept as much as possible in the background. It has been reported that:

"... the KPD / West German Communist Party / remained in the background during the recruiting of delegates, leaving the task to the party-controlled Festival Committee. However, the party assured itself of some control by sending along KPD and FDJ / Communist youth organization in Western Germany - illegal, while the party itself was then still legal / members as group leaders."

The Polish Communist government had gone to great lengths to make war-ravaged Warsaw appear its best to the foreign guests.

"For a couple of months before the Festival Warsaw underwent feverish improvements. Along the principal streets the houses were plastered, and round about the ruined central sections there were set up high billboards covered with advertisements of the Festival. Some rare commodities like meat, photographic film, and textiles, appeared in retail trade. It is understood these are not ordinarily available, and the Warsaw people, we hear, were grumpy in advance that they would disappear again from the shelves as soon as the Festival should be over."

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In the events of the Festival, peace, international understanding, sports and arts were stressed, while the political purpose of the Communists was, on the whole, effectively camouflaged.

"Much care has been taken to create a seemingly free and democratic atmosphere and to keep the Communist emphasis, even ideology, in the background . . . It is reported that all 'anti-imperialist' propaganda has been hurriedly deleted from literature and prepared speeches, and there are to be no effigies ridiculing Western statesmen in the processions. At the festival in East Berlin in August 1951, a symbol of a dollar sign with claws and ugly caricatures of Mr. Churchill and President Truman were carried in the parades. All this kind of thing has been abandoned and whatever form Communist propaganda may take, it will clearly be less vicious and more indirect."<sup>16</sup>

There were no less than 547 concerts and artistic performances at 40 indoor theaters, 25 open-air stages and 25 motion picture houses. These performances included competitions in folk singing, classical and folk dancing, appearances by a Soviet ballet and a Polish theater group, and four circuses.

Behind this many-colored screen, however, the real intentions of the sponsors were shown in numerous more serious meetings. On 6 August, the Festival observed "Hiroshima Day", the 10th anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb, an event closely connected with the international Communist peace campaign; a representative of the World Peace Council addressed the rally on this subject. On 10 August, a meeting of the delegates 'from the five great powers,' France, Britain, the US, the Soviet Union and Communist China, endorsed the then current Communist drive for a five-power pact "in the spirit of the Geneva summit

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<sup>16</sup> London Times, 1 August 1955.

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conference". It also called for the reunification of Germany "on peaceful and democratic foundations". On 11 August, a meeting of the youth from 14 Asian countries, sponsored by the Indonesian delegation, asked for the "relaxation of tensions" and "an end to colonial rule". On 13 August, a similar meeting of the delegates from 26 European countries was held.

There were "numerous" meetings devoted to the "solidarity of the youth of the world with the national liberation struggle of youth in colonial and dependent countries", according to the official report. Separate meetings for the delegates from various international front organizations, such as the World Peace Movement and the "former partisans and fighters for national independence", were held. A conference of more than 100 young journalists was attended by the Russian vice president of the Communist International Organization of Journalists. Another feature of the Festival was the presence of numerous "trade" meetings, in which delegates belonging to the same trade or industry were apparently briefed on Communist line activities in labor unions and related matters.

Elaborate security measures were reported by non-Communist participants. It was reported that:

"Twenty-three members of the SFS (East German State Security Service) accompanied the German delegations and were assisted by 180 'helpers'. Five delegates from West Germany were arrested by the SFS for espionage and returned to East Berlin. These individuals were accused of having photographed an air field and several jet planes . . . Members of the delegations from East and West Germany were segregated during the festival."

Another source reported that "in general, no watch was kept on where anybody had spent his time but there was a close watch at the door of the delegations' living quarters and in

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general outsiders were not let in. Even delegation members were let in only when they showed their festival cards". An Italian sportsman who attended the festival, reported to Radio Free Europe:

"Every member of the delegation was given an identification card and tag. The athletes' cards specified the sport they represented. These cards were valid for most of the celebrations of the Festival. In those cases where they were not valid, tickets were handed out daily for these events. Besides, these cards were valid for the city transportation system and also served as the return ticket to Vienna.

"A certain number of interpreters were assigned to the various quarters of the delegations, the number varying according to the number of delegates. These interpreters accompanied the delegates wherever they went." <sup>17</sup>

Estimates of the net result of the Festival, in terms of how much it benefited International Communism, vary widely. (The most sweepingly positive statements among all the non-Communist sources reviewed came from a person described as a "naturalized US citizen, who had served for 17 years on the diplomatic and legal staffs of an Eastern European country, and was now engaged in teaching and research on the Soviet Union and on international relations"). One non-Communist participant stated:

"I have been very much struck by the great impression on Poles which the recent International Youth Festival has made. The organizers tried to attract and hold non-Communists. They played up the themes of folklore, brotherhood and peace, which they professed to find exclusively under Communist auspices. The technique employed was to set up a

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<sup>17</sup> RFE #8845/55, 18 October 1955.

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nonpolitical backdrop and then peddle the Communist line in front of it . . . I can testify that this technique succeeded quite well and that its effects should not be underestimated . .

"The effect of this spectacle has been enormous. One of the most graphic examples of this effect has been in the correspondence which I receive from Poland. My correspondents have never furnished any information or expressed any political opinions of any sort. However, they have all commented on the Youth Festival. Despite their hostility to Communism they all spoke of the splendid way in which the Festival was organized and on the excellence of the parades and games which were staged. My point is that if anti-Communists who know from their daily experience what life under a Communist regime is like have been impressed to the extent of writing about the sort of thing they always avoid mentioning, how much greater than that must be the effects on the foreign delegates to the Festival, who are young people who have never had any experience whatsoever of life under a Communist regime. This to me is the alarming thing."

A different view of the political impact was presented by an American journalist:

"Not all of the visiting youth were even potential converts. The sports teams had made a precondition of non-participation in the festival itself. Previous experience dictated a decision to make participation in the political meetings voluntary, and many visitors took advantage of the freedom to stay away.

"Segments of all the Western delegations, except the American, visited their respective embassies and exposed in the process a sturdy immunity to the political purposes of the gathering. Many of the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and British were obviously there for a cheap holiday and no other purpose. The great majority from

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Cominform countries were 'believers' anyway, so little was gained by having them.

"The fact of the Geneva conference just before the festival opened took the sting out of the old party propaganda lines about alleged American 'warmongering'. Actually the propaganda exhibits around Warsaw had been largely purged of anti-American features shortly before the festival.

"My own strong suspicion is that Communism lost more than it gained and that the Cominform country governments will think twice before they stage a sixth World Festival . . . The old early postwar momentum has gone out of these things. I am more than ever convinced that the inner fire has died down in Communism, even behind the Iron Curtain."<sup>18</sup>

This prediction concerning another Festival has been refuted by the scheduling of the Moscow rally and the world-wide preparations for it. We believe that, on the whole, the Warsaw Festival substantially promoted the International Communist cause, especially among the youth of the underdeveloped areas of the world.

On the other hand, it is important to note the liabilities to the Communists of the Warsaw Festival. Many participants obviously came only for an all-expenses-paid junket; delegates from the Communist Bloc countries observed the better clothing and state of health of many Western guests; the less gullible participants from the West got a glimpse of life behind the Iron Curtain, despite the gaudy facade. There seem to have been some unpleasant incidents, such as quarrels between Germans and Poles, and numerous cases of petty thievery, drunkenness, and the like. Despite all this, we can be sure that the Communist governments would not continue to spend substantial sums on these Festivals if they did not believe that they received valuable political results in return.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph C. Harsch, in the Christian Science Monitor, 26 August 1955.

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The International Union of Students

Numerically, the International Union of Students (IUS), with its claimed membership of six million, is far smaller than WFDY with its alleged eighty-five million members. Organizationally, it is linked to WFDY and participates in all of the WFDY's major enterprises, notably in the World Youth Festivals, which are officially styled "World Festivals of Youth and Students".

The close working relation of the two organizations is reflected in the interchangeability of its personnel.

"The only international front organization with which the WFDY cooperated closely was one of its auxiliaries, the IUS in Prague. In summer, 1953, the WFDY and the IUS jointly financed the travel of youth delegations from Western countries; the WFDY paid for the travel of the delegations to the Congress in Bucharest while the IUS paid for the travel of the delegations from Bucharest to the Communist-sponsored World Student Congress in Warsaw. Also, the WFDY loaned some of its translators to the IUS for the Congress.

"All WFDY employees at the headquarters in Budapest knew that the IUS was Communist-run because of the way in which staff members of both organizations transferred from one organization to the other. For example, Roberto Carillo, the Spanish representative at WFDY headquarters, had worked for IUS before he went to Budapest. Carillo's predecessor in Budapest, Luis Azcarate, is presently with the IUS in Prague."

The overall development of IUS since its foundation at the World Student Congress at Prague in August of 1946 followed the lines similar to WFDY.

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"When the end of hostilities was in sight, these students turned their vision to the challenge of postwar reorganization. In March 1945, the British National Union of Students (BNUS) called a meeting of twenty-four students of various Allied nations who were then in London to plan the creation of a new international federation as quickly as possible after V-E Day. Among those attending this meeting were students from the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other countries which were then in process of being liberated from Nazi control. Anxious to convoke a more representative assembly, they set up a committee to arrange a larger gathering in London in the fall of the year. This decision marked the rebirth of the international student movement."<sup>19</sup>

IUS resembles its parent also in that while it began as an innocuous looking group, its Communist character became more and more obvious. Consequently, many non-Communist student groups originally affiliated with IUS left it when they recognized its subversive nature.<sup>20</sup>

Certain aspects of the IUS story, however, do not simply repeat the WFDY experience. The very existence of a Communist-manipulated international student organization, separate from

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<sup>19</sup> Peter T. Jones, The History of U.S. National Student Association Relations with the International Union of Students, 1945-56. Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. p.2.

<sup>20</sup> A case history of the experiences of a predominantly non-Communist student organization in its affiliation with IUS, the British National Union of Students, is presented by Ralph Blumenau in Communists and Students, (London, 1954).

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the main youth organization, is an interesting deviation from previous Communist concepts. When the Young Communist International was founded in 1919, it expressly rejected the idea of separate student organizations. It insisted that students and young workers should belong to the same Communist Youth Leagues, applying the principle of factory cells to universities and colleges as the students' "place of employment".<sup>21</sup> By the end of World War II, however, the Communist leaders obviously recognized that this rigidly orthodox and "class-conscious" principle barred them from successful recruitment of students. The principle was therefore abandoned.

Sociologically, student organizations differ significantly from general youth organizations. Many of them resemble the youth divisions of labor unions in certain countries, insofar as they, too, are often "pressure groups", voicing the professional and economic interests of their members within the lawyer group. Just as many labor unions are based on shop stewards in the factories, many student unions are based on student councils and other organs of student self-government in universities and colleges. This makes it easier for student groups to recruit a high percentage of their fellow-students and promotes a high degree of cohesion and stability of membership. Students, of course, normally leave these groups as soon as they have completed their studies.

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<sup>21</sup> "The Student Section of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth" is the USSR affiliate of IUS, the nearest equivalent in the USSR of the National Union of Students groups in the Western World. This principle is apparently maintained in the USSR even today.

The Anti-Fascist Soviet Youth Committee has now been re-organized into a Committee of USSR Youth Organizations. This will coordinate the activities of member organizations, foster the friendship and cooperation between Soviet and foreign youth, and promote contacts with international and national youth organizations. Chairman of the new Committee is Sergei Romanovsky. (Moscow Radio, July 22; Soviet Weekly, July 12).

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IUS concentrates a major portion of its over-all effort on Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these areas, students are traditionally the spearheads of revolutionary movements. In countries only recently freed from domination by European powers, the rapid expansion of a native intelligentsia assures virtually every student a role in government, business, or party politics soon after graduation and increases the weight and importance of student groups.

The constitution of the IUS, as innocuous as the constitution of the WFDY, describes the organization as representative "of the democratic students of the whole world who work for progress". Its avowed aims include the following, relatively unobjectionable planks:

"To secure for all young people the right and possibility of primary, secondary and higher education, regardless of sex, economic circumstances, social standing, political conviction, religion, color or race.

"To promote among students . . . the love of freedom and democracy.

"To provide the means of cooperation between actively democratic, nationally representative student organizations.

"To assist the students of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries to attain their full social, economic and educational development: to this end to render to the students and peoples of these countries all possible assistance in their struggle for freedom and independence. "

However, in the actual practice of IUS, especially in the meetings and resolutions of its leading organs, the Communist character of the organization can be unmistakably recognized. This was first revealed in connection with the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948.

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"By 1949 the breach between the Cominform and Yugoslavia had become irreparable. However, if the IUS wished to break off relations with the Yugoslavs, the latter had no intention of allowing themselves to be quietly pushed out of the IUS. Five Yugoslavs had accordingly arrived in Sofia on the first day of the Council meeting. A Scottish delegate saw them on the following day being escorted from their hotel by Bulgarian police. The Yugoslavs hurriedly explained they were delegates to the Council; and they asked him to take the matter up with Grohman, the Czech President of the IUS.

"The Western delegates did so that same evening. Three days later, when nothing had been done, they took the matter up again, first in the Praesidium, then in the Steering Committee, and finally on the floor of the Council. Eventually Grohman was compelled to produce a statement from the Bulgarian government to the effect that the expelled delegates had tried to contact 'known Tito agents' in Sofia and had attempted to conduct activities hostile to the Bulgarian government. The IUS, Grohman went on, would certainly not assist in the smuggling of enemy agents into Bulgaria. After a vitriolic speech against the Tito regime from the Bulgarian delegate, the closure of the discussion on this point was moved and carried. . . "22

At the IUS Executive Committee meeting in London in February 1950, the Yugoslav student organization was formally expelled from IUS. Needless to say, IUS, like WFDY, reversed itself in 1955, when the Moscow party line favored a rapprochement with Yugoslavia, and "annulled" all hostile decisions it had adopted five years earlier.

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Blumenau, op. cit., p. 20.

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A more recent picture of how IUS toes the International Communist party line is given in the report on a meeting of the IUS Council held in Moscow, 20-26 August 1954. Since 92 delegates and 79 observers attended that meeting, it is obvious that the Communist manipulators had to engage in some management. Nevertheless,

"Burma expressed dissatisfaction that strikes and protest actions were so coolly received in 'more developed countries' . . . A young lady from the Union of Democratic Student Youth in Istanbul (Turkey) . . . mentioned Norway and stated directly to us that if we really wanted to assist colonial, half-colonial and under-developed countries, we could do so by sending a resolution of protest to the Turkish Government demanding that it cease its undemocratic methods. . . . "

"Tuesday, 24 August. The meeting opened with a lengthy political lecture from North Korea. It was explained how favorable everything was there, and how desperate the students in South Korea were, thanks partially to the Americans. From Japan a representative of the All-Japan Student Federation held a lengthy speech on the A- and H-bombs.

/After a speech by the representative of the Australian NUAUS (National Union of Australian Students) attacking IUS as the 'Student Section of the Cominform': "The next speaker was a representative from the All-India Student Federation. The remarks were filled with emotion and ended with a fanatic attack on NUAUS, Australia. It was clear that the Indians had advance knowledge of the Australian statements (the texts of all speeches had to be submitted 12 hours in advance, 'for translation') and this knowledge they used to the maximum . . . The All-India Student Federation aroused tremendous enthusiasm with its presentation. . . . "

Further evidence of the IUS party line can be found in its publications. In 1950, for instance, it published a pamphlet

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"US Education in Crisis", which alleged that "the depressed state of education was clearly similar to the general economic crisis in the United States as a whole, for which the banks and monopolies seek war as their only solution". On the other hand, IUS issued a pamphlet, "Twenty-one Unforgettable Days in the Soviet Union", praising the "true democracy in schools and universities" in the USSR and declaring that "the life and condition of the Soviet youth and students, proud of the leading role of their country in the world struggle for peace, help to show the way to a brighter future for all student youth".

Still another IUS pamphlet, "Colonial Education", attacked the Western powers, especially Britain, for "oppressing" colonial peoples and denying them education. Yet another hailed the rebels in Greece, Burma, Indonesia and elsewhere - and the students assisting them - as fighters seeking "to prevent their countries from becoming military bases in a world war, which the warmongers try strenuously to foment".

Throughout its existence, IUS, like WFDY, follows the International Communist party line on every issue. It blames the US for "waging aggressive war" and using germ bombs in Korea, for preparing a nuclear war, for refusing to disarm, and for denying Red China its "rightful place" in the UN. It praises all things Soviet.

ANNEX II

OFFICIAL PROGRAM OF THE VIth WORLD  
YOUTH AND FRIENDSHIP FESTIVAL FOR PEACE  
AND FRIENDSHIP - MOSCOW 1957

I. General Activities

1. Opening ceremony. Central Lenin Stadium, Moscow, July 28, 1957.
2. International Peace and Friendship Rally (following broad discussion of this subject by delegations).
3. Peace and Friendship Pageant.
4. Regional meetings of delegations to discuss questions of common interest (optional).
5. Meeting of representatives of international youth organizations to discuss cooperation and promotion of the interests of youth.
6. Get-togethers of Festival participants of similar trades and occupations (see Section II of Program), followed by:
  - Meeting of young industrial workers
  - Meeting of young farmers
  - Meeting of young intellectuals
7. Get-together of Festival participants who are members of parliament.
8. Evening devoted to solidarity with young people of colonial countries.
9. Pageant: Glory to Peaceful Labour.
10. Gala celebration of rural youth. Preceded by get-togethers of rural youth.

The program of the celebration includes performances by folk choirs and dance groups. National rural costumes and games will be shown.
11. Girls' celebration (gatherings and meetings of girls; display of fashions and national costumes; ball).
12. "A Glimpse into the Future". (Atomic energy at service of man).

13. Aquatic gala.
14. Meeting of Festival participants with writers and artists.
15. Gala youth carnival.
16. Ball in Kremlin for Festival participants.
17. Planting of Friendship Park
18. Closing ceremony. August 11, 1957.

## II. Gatherings

### Get-togethers of Festival participants of similar trades and occupations

During these gatherings, Festival delegates of similar trades and occupations will discuss questions of common interest. Visits will be arranged to factories, collective farms, machine and tractor stations and schools, where Festival participants will meet Soviet young people engaged in the given trade or occupation. Get-togethers of young people in the following trades, and occupations and industries are planned:

#### Miners -

Working conditions, safety measures and ways of safeguarding the health of young miners.

#### Farmers, Peasants and Small-holders -

Possibility for young farmers to have their own farms and the conditions for making them paying enterprises. Exchange of experience on farming.

#### Dockers -

Protection of the labour of young dockers during handling operations. Professional training, full employment and permanent salaries for young dockers.

#### Electrical Engineering and Power Industry -

Conditions for the training and improvement of young workers in the electrical engineering and power industry.

#### Food Industry -

Mechanization and intensification of labour in the food industry and the position of young workers. Working conditions and health protection. Position of young women in the food industry.

Building Workers -

Professional training.

Mechanization in building and problems facing the young builders.

Railwaymen -

Intensification of labour and working conditions.

Iron and Steel Engineering and Machine-Building Industries -

Labour productivity in metallurgy and machine-building, living conditions, and health protection.

Prospects for the future with the advent of automation.

Printing and Publishing Industry -

Health protection and working conditions.

Problem of new techniques and exchange of experience.

Textile -

Intensification of labour and the problems of full employment in the textile industry.

Position of young women in the textile industry.

Clothing Industry -

Professional qualification, problems of full employment and working conditions of young women workers.

School Teachers -

Problem of training more teachers, construction of schools and in this connection, the problem of full employment for young teachers.

Problem of the health of children in relation to the syllabus and the role of sports in schools.

Importance of modern technical developments (radio, television, etc.) in teaching.

Role of reading in the education of children.

Problems of Professional Training and Apprenticeship -

The right to learn a profession and the possibility of getting a job in it.

Professional training of young workers.

Office employees -

Problems of work in accordance with the level of knowledge, and advancement.

Communication and Transport -

Position of young employees in connection with the intensification of labour in separate branches.

Public Health -

Problem of public health in different countries and the role of young public health workers.

Journalists -

Role of the press and the young journalists in promoting understanding between young people and in educating youth.

Agricultural Workers -

Right to permanent employment and security.  
Problems of professional training.

Screen and Stage Artists -

Role of art in shaping moral and aesthetic qualities and in strengthening friendship and understanding among youth of different countries.  
Exchange of experience between young artists of different countries on ways of mastering their profession.

Chemical Industry -

Health protection and safety engineering.

Fishermen and Seamen -

Problems of safety and working conditions.

Leather Industry -

Working conditions, life, and health protection of young workers in the leather industry.

Get-togethers of Artists and Hobbyists

Leaders of amateur talent groups

Leaders of choirs

Artists

Orchestra conductors

Puppeteers

Stamp collectors

Photography fans

Amateur film makers

Airplane model makers

Radio amateurs

Esperantists

Anglers

Get-togethers of Youth and Students of  
Similar Religious Faiths

Such get-togethers will be arranged at the request of Festival participants.

Get-togethers of Delegations

These will be arranged starting from the second day of the Festival. They should last several hours, to give the participants enough time for a free exchange of opinions, discussions and talks about the life of young people, their interests, and defense of their rights. Cultural activities, non-official sports meetings and the like may be arranged during the gatherings if the delegations so desire.

International Get-together Club

Venue for gatherings, discussions, etc.

III. Student Program of the Festival

International Seminar and Excursions for Students  
of Architectural and Civil Engineering Schools

Visits to architectural monuments and construction sites in Moscow; meetings with prominent Soviet architects. Trip to Leningrad.

International Seminar and Excursions for Students  
of Agricultural Schools

Lectures by distinguished agricultural scientists, visits to Timiryazev Agricultural Academy, USSR. Agricultural Exhibition, experimental stations, machine and tractor stations, collective farms and state farms.



International Seminar and Excursions for Students  
of Technical Schools

Lectures on topical questions relating to electric power, visit to Moscow Power Institute, inspection of high-tension transmission lines and other structures.

International Seminar on Peaceful Uses of Atomic  
Energy

Popular lectures by outstanding specialists in peaceful uses of atomic energy, visit to the Atoms for Peace Pavilion of the USSR. Industrial Exhibition and other places connected with the seminar topic.

International Seminar for Students of Music Schools

Subject: "Folk Motifs in Musical Composition".  
Talks with prominent musicians, discussions, musical illustrations, exchange of information on the organization of musical education in different countries, visits to historic places connected with music and art.

International Seminar for Law Students

Subject: "Problems of International Law in United Nations Charter".

Lectures by distinguished specialists on international law, discussions, exchange of information on law education in different countries.

International Seminar for Students of Literature

Lectures on contemporary writing in different countries.  
Addresses by prominent writers and literary scholars, exchange of information on the organization of literary education in different countries, visits to Lenin Library, Gorky and Tolstoi museums, Mayakovsky Library-Museum, Nikolai Ostrovsky Museum, excursion to Yasnaya Polyana, where Lev Tolstoi lived.

International Seminar for Students of Philosophy

Subject: "Is it Possible to Foresee the Development of Human Society?"

Addresses by prominent philosophers, exchange of information on the study of philosophy in different countries.

International Seminar for Students of Cinematography Schools

Discussions of topical problems relating to the contemporary cinema, meetings with prominent cinema people, demonstrations of the work of students of cinematography schools of different countries, exchange of information on the organization of cinematography education in different countries.

International Get-togethers of Students Specializing in Same Field

The object of these gatherings is to promote an exchange of information and views concerning curricula and methods of instruction in different countries.

The gatherings are to be held at the respective colleges in Moscow. The participants will have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the schools and to meet members of the teaching staffs.

There will be visits to museums, art galleries, schools, exhibitions, and so forth, arranged according to the given field.

Get-togethers of students specializing in the following fields are planned:

Medicine	Geography
Education	Astronomy
Economics	Geology
Chemistry	Biology
History	Physical education and sports
Archeology	
Fine arts	

Cultural Activities

Evening devoted to student songs of many countries.

"Universities of the World". (An evening devoted to the university traditions of different countries, with demonstrations of costumes, student songs, and other customs).

International Students' Club

The International Students' Club will be a permanent centre for students who are participants in the Festival. Activities taking into account the varied interests of students are to be arranged daily. The Club will be a place for informal gatherings of students; it will have reading rooms, a cafe, chess rooms, halls for gatherings, etc.

The following activities are to be included in the program of the International Students' Club (taking into account the opinions of Festival participants):

Lecture on "Interplanetary Travel", followed by questions and answers.

Discussion: "Development of National Culture", with addresses by prominent foreign and Soviet cultural personages.

Lecture on "Students and World Culture", followed by questions and answers.

Meetings with distinguished authors and poets of many countries.

Discussion: "The University and Society".

Discussion: "Educational Reforms".

Students' ball.

Gathering devoted to students' cooperation in sphere of culture and exchanges among students specializing in same fields.

Meeting with members of Soviet Antarctic expedition.

Demonstration of films made by students.

Lectures about student life and the student movement in countries represented at the Festival by student delegations.

Get-togethers of editors of student publications and students of journalism.

Get-together of student delegations from different countries.

Gala concert for students.

Dance evening.

Exhibition of simultaneous chess play on 50 boards.

Evening of symphonic miniatures performed by students' symphony orchestra.

Jazz evening.

Concert given by pupils of choreographic schools.

Meeting with outstanding Soviet stage artists.

#### IV. Stage Performances

1. Concerts and plays (various themes and genres).

2. International song festival. Performances by national choirs. A combined choir, made up of the choirs of various delegations, will sing the most popular youth songs, the music and lyrics of which will have been distributed beforehand. Get-togethers to learn popular songs.

3. Folk dance festival. Performances by national dance groups and soloists. Mass contests, with prizes for best performances of folk dances. Get-togethers to learn folk dances.

4. Festival of young talent. Performances by winners of Festival contests.

5. Get-together of youth theatres. Demonstration of plays by youth theatrical companies from different countries. The companies invited to the Festival will present their plays in a special theatre, where discussions of the plays will also take place.

Amateur theatrical companies of students and workers, as well as companies of young professional actors, are eligible for the get-together of youth theatres. The best companies and performers will be awarded honor certificates.

6. Soviet ballet performances.

7. Circus procession through the streets of Moscow, culminating in gala circus performance.

8. Evening of humour (performances in various genres).

9. Concerts and evenings of performers of popular songs (recitals and international popular song programs).

10. Performances by puppet theatres of different countries.

11. Classes in folk dancing. Arranged by Soviet ballet masters for specialists and young dancers.

V. International Contests in the Arts

VI. Anniversaries of Scientific and Cultural Personages

The anniversaries of men and women of different countries who have contributed to the progress of world science and culture are to be marked during the Festival.

These affairs are to be prepared beforehand by the delegations of the respective countries.

VII. International Film Festival

Film Showings

Films on various subjects, presented by delegations, will be shown. They can be full-length, short-reel, feature and documentary films and animated cartoons.

VIII. Exhibitions

The following exhibitions are to be arranged during the Festival:

- a. An international art show;
- b. Exhibitions of stamps, photographs, international organizations, etc.

IX. Sports

1. Sports contests will be held from July 30 to August 9, 1957. They will be arranged by the International Preparatory Committee of the VIth World Youth and Student Festival and other organizations.

The national teams of organizations which are not members of international sports federations, as well as sportsmen and teams of workers', students', and other sports clubs, may enter the competitions.

There will be contests in the following sports:

Men

Track and field	Soccer
Gymnastics	Rugby
Swimming	Volleyball
Weight-lifting	Basketball
Free-style wrestling	Springboard diving
Cycling (road)	Badminton
Table tennis	

Women

Track and field	Volleyball
Gymnastics	Basketball
Swimming	Springboard diving
Table tennis	Badminton

2. Open tournaments in table tennis, volleyball and chess will be arranged.

3. Festival participants may take tests to qualify for Festival sports badge.

4. International get-together of tourists.

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